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QUAKER PACIFISM IN KANSAS, 1833-1945

being

A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the Fort Hays Kansas State College in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the Degree of Master of Science

by

Cecil B. Currey, A. B.

Fort Hays Kansas State College

Date Jan 15, 1959

Approved

Raymond L. Weth
Major Professor

Ralph L. Coder
Chairman, Graduate Council

ANNIVERSARY POEM

Full long our feet the flowery ways
Of Peace have trod,
Content with creed and garb and phrase:
A harder path in earlier days
Led up to God.

Too cheaply truths, once purchased dear,
Are made our own;
Too long the world has smiled to hear
Our boast of full corn in the ear,
By others sown;

To see us stir the martyr fires
Of long ago,
And wrap our satisfied desires
In the singed mantle that our sires
Have dropped below.

But now the Cross our worthies bore
On us is laid.
Profession's quiet sleep is o'er
And in the scale of Truth once more
Our faith is weighed.

The levelled gun, the battle-brand
We may not take;
But calmly loyal we can stand
And suffer with our suffering land
For conscience' sake.

--John Greenleaf Whittier, 1863.

PREFACE

This thesis has been written about Quaker pacifism in Kansas during the years 1833 to 1945. It has been devoted to a description of the role which pacifism has played within the Friends religious sect and an attempt has been made to explore the conditions and events that have effected the peace testimony. Finally, this thesis has been produced in an endeavor to describe the problems and dilemmas that have attended the actions of those persons who have adhered to the Quaker doctrine of nonresistance.

"Quaker Pacifism in Kansas, 1833-1945" is the first attempt that has been made to present a definitive study devoted to a doctrinal tenet of the Society of Friends in Kansas. To be sure, there are works in other fields which have a bearing upon the pacifism of Kansas Quakers. The most notable of these is the three volume publication of Rufus M. Jones entitled the Later Periods of Quakerism. A section of this work is devoted to a review of the early settlement and pacifistic actions of Quaker pioneers in Kansas with a smaller portion dealing with the conflict engendered during the rise of revivalism. A second work of value is that of Sheldon Jackson, Quakers in Kansas, which deals with the whole of the settlement and development of the Society of Friends in the state. This composition has been of value to me in providing a starting point for the research of this thesis. Two other studies which are in related areas but have been of no value in this presentation are "The Development of Friends Education in Kansas" by Charles Beals and "The Community of Haviland, Kansas" by Arthur D. Rush.

Two other works which contributed to background material in this writing are "History of the Quaker Settlements at Lowell and Riverton, Kansas" by Jean Durland, and "History of the Quaker Settlement at Hesper, Kansas" by Lindley Stanley.¹

It has been said that pacifism is a subject that is difficult, if not impossible, to write about with fairness. Since this study has been made by a Quaker, objectivity has oftentimes been even more difficult. However, I have self-consciously endeavored to avoid polemical attacks or defenses of the actions of various segments of Kansas Friends. How well this has been accomplished the reader will have to judge for himself. If in this work I have occasionally been led to conclusions differing from the opinions of others it is because these views are the outcome of a conscientious survey of all the original sources available to me.

At the commencement of my historical study, I speedily became convinced that the only way to begin such a study was not to read the rather scanty work of other researchers on the topic but to familiarize

¹Charles A. Beals, "The Development of Friends Education in Kansas" (unpublished Master's thesis, Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, Kansas, 1941).

Jean Durland, "History of the Quaker Settlements at Lowell and Riverton, Kansas" (unpublished Master's thesis, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, Kansas, 1937).

Arthur D. Rush, "The Community of Haviland, Kansas. Its Early History and Development" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Fort Hays Kansas State College, Hays, Kansas).

Lindley Stanley, "History of the Quaker Settlement at Hesper, Kansas" (unpublished Master's thesis, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, Kansas).

myself with the available Quaker records which survive the one hundred and twelve years covered by this thesis. Consequently, investigation was made of the source materials preserved by such institutions as Friends Bible College, Haviland, Kansas; Friends University, Wichita, Kansas; the Kansas State Historical Library, Topeka, Kansas; and Kansas Yearly Meeting, Wichita, Kansas. It is from the records preserved by Kansas Yearly Meeting and stored in the safety vault in the basement of University Friends Church, Wichita, Kansas, that the major portion of this thesis has been based. In the safety vault was found hundreds and hundreds of "minute-books" in which were recorded the everyday happenings of Quakers in Kansas since 1833. These records have presented without disguise the actions of this religious group. By the application of the results thus obtained it has seemed to me that many points of obscurity concerning the role of the peace testimony among Kansas Quakers have been clarified. Scrupulous care has been taken to investigate all possible sources which may have a bearing upon this topic and I am reasonably convinced that no new material could be found which would materially alter the presentation set forth in this thesis.

I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to all those who have helped me in this effort--and there have been many such persons. First, I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Raymond Welty of the Department of History, Fort Hays Kansas State College, who has wisely guided my efforts and who has shown me aspects of my own research that I did not myself perceive. Secondly, I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Samuel Hamilton of the Fort Hays Department of Philosophy for steering me

through the tortuous mazes and nefarious pitfalls of polemics.

My thanks are also due the many Quakers who were most cooperative in giving me their assistance; especially Mr. Merle Ros, the General Superintendent of Kansas Yearly Meeting, who arranged free access to the safety vault for me, and to Mr. Charles Amick, Custodian of the Yearly Meeting safety vault. I also wish to acknowledge the help given me by the staff of the University Friends Church, Wichita, Kansas and by the staff of the Friends University Library, Wichita, Kansas.

Finally, grateful thanks are extended to Mrs. Geneva Hewett for her wise guidance in the techniques of writing and to my wife who gallantly kept me and my young son out of my hair during five months of labor devoted to the writing of this thesis while we were living in a very small trailer house.

C.B.C.

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CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND YEARS

Seventeenth century England evidenced the viciousness that can be committed in the name of religion. The Catholics had lost their ascendancy during the reign of Henry VIII because of a political feud between Henry and the Roman Pope. Under Mary Tudor, Catholicism was reinstated but Catholic power was forever curtailed when Queen Elizabeth turned her back on the religion which was her inclination and supported the state, or Anglican, Church. In the years that followed, a reform movement called "Puritan" gained strength and sought a voice in the church government of the country. Advocates of presbyterian church government opposed the crown supported episcopalianism. Arminianism¹ was argued against predestinarianism. Minute points of the Christian faith were bitterly disputed by theologians. To many it seemed that worship was a formal ritual, left with little vitality.

Repelled by this situation and believing that any man could study the Scriptures and form his own creed, individuals and small groups throughout England and Scotland drew together in an attempt to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. Weary of argumentation and offended by the State Church, such groups of dissenters determined to strike through the mass of ritual which the church hierarchy had created and to return to a purer, simpler form of Christianity.

¹Arminianism arose from the views of Jacob Arminius who believed that salvation was not for any group of "elect" but was contingent upon a life of faith and works.

Such peoples needed only a leader behind whom they could consolidate to become a force in religious circles.²

George Fox was born in Drayton-in-the-Clay, Leicestershire, England in July of 1624. As a youth he had unusual moral sensitivity. At the age of eleven, he was characterized as knowing "pureness and righteousness."³ As George grew to adulthood he became more and more troubled by the forms of worship to which he had access. None could satisfy him, so he left his parents and made a solitary journey throughout the English countryside. He applied for spiritual advice from those whom he thought qualified to help. The counsel given him did nothing to silence his qualms. One clergyman, Richard Abel, told him to take tobacco and sing psalms.⁴ "Tobacco was a thing I did not love and psalms I was not in an estate to sing; I could not sing."⁵ Another clergyman thought he needed a laxative and blood-letting might profit him also.⁶ His relatives thought it might help if he would get married or enter into military service.⁷

None of these solutions was well received by George Fox. It is

²Sheldon G. Jackson, A Short History of Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends (Wichita: Day's Print Shop, 1946), p. 5.

³John L. Nickalls (ed.), The Journal of George Fox (Cambridge: The University Press, 1952), p. 1.

⁴Ibid., p. 5.

⁵Ibid., pp. 5-6.

⁶Ibid., p. 6.

⁷Ibid., pp. 4-5.

recorded in his journal that in the year of 1647

when all my hopes . . . in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could tell what to do, then, Oh then, I heard a voice which said, "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition," and when I heard it my heart did leap for joy.⁸

From this time George Fox began his public ministry. It was his fervent belief that all men could know salvation if they would but cultivate the light of God which burned within them. They need not necessarily find their salvation through "priests" or in "steeple-houses."⁹ Fox believed that "the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world"¹⁰ was able to lead men into all necessary religious truth and was not contingent upon outward forms, ceremonies, creeds or rituals. The operations of the heavenly Spirit were not held to be limited to time, or individual, or place. The emphasis laid upon Scripture and the person and work of Jesus of Nazareth caused Fox, and later his followers, to be charged with unbelief in the current Anglican viewpoint--which charge was, of course, true. Fox proclaimed his viewpoint wherever possible: at market places, in barns, on roadways and in village hamlets.

As George Fox continued his ministry, religious dissenters in the British Isles recognized in him the leader they needed; his sermons

⁸Ibid., p. 11.

⁹A "priest" was the term used to designate any paid clergyman and a "steeple-house" described any church building, Catholic or Protestant.

¹⁰John 1: 9. All Biblical quotations are taken from the King James version of the Bible, the Oxford University Press edition.

attracted followers and a community of like-minded worshippers began to form.

During the ministry of Fox these dissenters began to be described as "Quakers" although they variously called themselves "Children of Truth," "Seekers of Light," "Friends of Truth," "Children of Light," and finally the "Religious Society of Friends." They chose the name "Society" for they felt that the whole of Christendom comprised the living Church, while any group within this Church was only a Society of believers. The origin of the term "Quaker" has been ascribed to various sources. Some scholars believe the term originated in the writings of certain early Friends, in which may be found statements proclaiming that those who did not know "quaking and trembling" were "strangers to the experience of Moses, David and other saints."¹¹ Others believe that the term originated because Fox, haled into court, admonished the judge to "tremble at the Word of the Lord" and heard the magistrate derisively call him "quaker."¹² These are but two of the origins attributed to the nickname.

The Quakers refused to go to church; they insisted upon freedom of speech, worship and assembly; they refused to take oaths in court; they doffed their hats to no man--king or commoner; they condemned slavery and the contemporary treatment of criminals and insane; they

¹¹Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago: The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1956), p. 846.

¹²Frank S. Mead, Handbook of Denominations in the United States (New York: The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1951), p. 92.

used the simple "thee" and "thou" when addressing others; they believed that women, as well as men, could preach; and they refused to participate in fighting.¹³ Since this essay is concerned with a treatment of Quaker pacifism, this last doctrine will be explored more fully.

Fox carefully studied his New Testament and believed that the statements found therein which proclaimed brotherly love were of profound importance. Ideally therefore, forbearance and pacifism were adhered to in order to express a spirit of love through which others' hearts might grow gentle.¹⁴ The writings of the earliest of the Church Fathers were not a primary source of Quaker pacifism but were often quoted to defend the position, by Fox, William Penn, Isaac Pemberton and Robert Barclay. Barclay wrote in his Apology for the True Christian Divinity (1679): "It is as easy to obscure the sun at mid-day as to deny that the Primitive Christians renounced all revenge and war."¹⁵ The Scriptures were constantly used to defend their religious position. Such sayings of Jesus as "Love your enemies," "Blessed are the peacemakers," "Resist not evil," "Whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also," "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," "If my kingdom were of this world then would my servants fight" were strictly adhered to.¹⁶

¹³Jackson, A Short History of Kansas Yearly Meeting, p. 6. Cf., Head, Handbook of Denominations, p. 92.

¹⁴Nickalls, The Journal of George Fox, p. xxvii.

¹⁵Howard H. Brinton, The Peace Testimony of the Society of Friends (Philadelphia: The American Friends Service Committee, 1950), p. 3.

¹⁶Matthew 5: 44; Matthew 5: 9; Matthew 5: 39; Matthew 5: 39; Matthew 26: 52; John 18: 36.

Friends emphasized more than did others the words of the Apostle Paul: "We wrestle not against flesh and blood," "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal," "Be ye kind one to another." The Quakers felt that the words of Peter and James: "Rendering to no man evil for evil, . . . but contrariwise blessing," "From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts?" admonished them to refrain from all types of violence.¹⁷

Quakers generally regarded the Old Testament as simply a history of the Jewish peoples and viewed the New Testament as their rule of faith and practice, for Jesus of Nazareth had obviously introduced a new religion and a new dispensation according to their viewpoint. "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time . . . but I say unto you"¹⁸ was unambiguous. The Friends felt that if the Old Testament was used to justify wars it would logically follow that it could as well be used to justify all the ritual of Judaism. Jonathan Dymond commented that "He who insists upon a pure morality applies to the New Testament; he who desires a little more indulgence defends himself by arguments from the Old."¹⁹

The early Friends believed in showing others these words from the New Testament and then letting the "light within" their hearers perform any necessary convincing. Fox said that his goal was to take listeners

¹⁷ Ephesians 6: 12; II Corinthians 10: 4; Ephesians 4: 32; I Peter 3: 9; James 4: 1.

¹⁸ May often be found in the fifth chapter of Matthew's Gospel.

¹⁹ Brinton, The Peace Testimony of the Society of Friends, p. 4.

to the feet of Christ, their teacher, and leave them there. When William Penn asked him if he should wear his sword, Fox answered with the words: "Wear it as long as thou can'st."²⁰

The first mention of pacifism found in the writings of George Fox records an incident wherein he was offered release from prison if he would accept a captain's commission in the army.

But I told them I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars, and I knew from whence all wars did rise, from the lust according to James's doctrine. Still they courted me to accept their offer and thought I did but compliment with them. But I told them I was come into the covenant of peace which was before wars and strifes were.²¹

Likewise, William Penn wrote in 1692 in A Key Opening the Way: "Let not this people be thought useless or inconsistent for introducing that harmless, glorious way to this distracted world for somebody must begin it."²²

Soon the Friends came to feel that they would rather be killed than kill. Thomas Chalkley put it this way:

I being innocent, if I were killed in my body, my soul might be happy; but if I killed him, he dying in his wickedness would consequently be unhappy; and if I were killed, he might live to repent; but if I killed him, he would have no time to repent.²³

George Fox was an example to his people for this witness. On

²⁰Ibid., p. 5.

²¹Nickalls, The Journal of George Fox, p. 65.

²²Brinton, Op. Cit., p. 7.

²³Ibid., p. 7.

one occasion he heard an Irish colonel bragging that he would kill all Quakers; so Fox went up to him and said, "Here is gospel for thee, here is my hair, and here is my cheek, and here are my shoulders." This so surprised and shamed the officer "that he grew loving."²⁴ To modern sophisticated detachment such behavior seems to be mostly exhibitionism, but it bore an unmistakable witness to those of his time.

In summation of the Quaker views on pacifism, it should be noted that the Friends historically felt that their "peace testimony" could not fully be separated from their other social beliefs. They desired these beliefs to fit together as a unit. These people wanted their testimony for racial, sex and class equality to work against violence. Likewise, it was their belief that the testimony for simplicity would tend to remove the superfluities and privileges which create wars.²⁵

To lay much stress upon nonviolence; little stress upon the joys or terrors of "life hereafter," to tell the Established Church that God resided not only in their "steeple-houses" but could be found elsewhere, to preach that it was wrong to tax English citizens for the payment of clergymen's salaries--this was rank heresy. Such teachings were treated as revolutionary.

Because of their nonconformist views and their rapidly growing numbers, Friends were faced with bitter persecution. They were whipped, jailed, mutilated, murdered and tortured. George Fox spent six years

²⁴Nickalls, The Journal of George Fox, p. xx.

²⁵Brinton, Op. Cit., p. 16.

in jail. Others died there. From 1650 to 1689 fifteen thousand Quakers died for their faith.²⁶ During the reign of Charles II, 13,562 were imprisoned, 198 exiled and 338 died in prison or from wounds received in assaults on their meetings.²⁷ Yet throughout all of their persecution, Friends insisted upon meeting openly rather than in secret as other nonconformists often did. It is quite possible that this persecution strengthened the sect; at any rate history records that they prospered. The Toleration Act of 1689 put an end to direct persecution but for many years the Quakers were subject to penalties for the non-payment of tithes and other civil disabilities. The removal of these restrictions is a part of the general history of England.

Filled with missionary zeal, the early Friends traveled widely spreading their teachings. Only thirteen years after Fox had begun his public ministry, it is recorded that Germany, Florence, Mantua, Tuscany, Rome, Jerusalem and the surrounding country, Turkey, Surinam, Jamaica, Newfoundland and America had been visited by Quaker ministers.²⁸

Like the other dissenting religious groups, the Quakers desired the right to worship in relative freedom. Persecution early turned their eyes to the New World. Yet not alone did they sail for the English colonies to seek safety; the Friends also desired to preach to those already there. The first Quakers that are known to have come to

²⁶Mead, Handbook of Denominations, p. 92.

²⁷Allen Clapp and Richard H. Thomas, History of the Society of Friends in America (New York: The J. C. Winston Co., 1905), p. 204.

²⁸Jackson, A Short History of Kansas Yearly Meeting, p. 6.

the colonies were Mary Fisher and Ann Austin. They arrived in Boston, Massachusetts in 1656 from the Barbados Islands, and were promptly ejected as witches. Only two days later eight more Friends arrived from England. Laws were quickly passed barring them from entry, but the Quakers continued to come. Pillories, stocks and whipping posts were worked overtime without avail. Only Rhode Island allowed them to settle unhampered. In the colonies as in England, only the passage of the Toleration Act saved them from further persecution.²⁹ By 1700, Quaker congregations had been established in all the colonies. That same decade heralded their greatest influence and power. They were or had been important in the governments of the Jerseys, the Carolinas, Rhode Island, Delaware, New York, Maryland and Pennsylvania.³⁰

During the period of peace following the passage of the Toleration Act, Quaker evangelistic zeal perished. The Friends became withdrawn and introspective, convinced that they were a "peculiar people." Their actions caused many to agree with them. Sobriety, punctuality, and honesty became the cardinal virtues; music in meeting was unheard of; pleasures were viewed with a cynical eye; speech was Biblical and dress was very plain; expulsion for marrying a nonmember became common and the system of "birthright membership" was accepted. Silence in worship services, a practice long known, now was demanded because the Friends of this period felt that only in silence could God make himself

²⁹Mead, Handbook of Denominations, p. 92. Cf., Jackson, A Short History of Kansas Yearly Meeting, p. 6.

³⁰Elbert Russell, The History of Quakerism (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1942), p. 124.



known. Fear of "creaturely activity" caused all action and speaking in worship services to be frowned upon. Bible reading declined as dependence upon the guidance of the "Inner Light" increased.³¹ As these beliefs became fixed upon the Society, the Friends lost many members and gained few converts. Members were disowned for the most minor infractions of the "discipline."

Yet introspective as the Society had become for its own members, toward others Quakers felt a deep concern to fulfill the "second commandment"—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."³² In the decades around the beginning of the nineteenth century, Quaker interest in social reforms grew. Their ideas on prison reform began to have effect; the number of their schools increased; they protested against the traffic in slaves and rid the Society of slavery long before any other religious body had done so, and their early concern for the Indians never slackened.

Josiah Cole and James Thurston had preached to the Indians as

³¹This utter dependence upon the leading of the "Inner Light" was in contravention of the spirit of George Fox's teachings although it did not contradict selected passages from his Journal, such as: "You will say, Christ saith this, and the apostles say this; but what canst thou say?" Again, "The Scriptures were the prophet's words, and Christ's and the Apostle's words, and what, as they spoke, they enjoyed and possessed and had it from the Lord. Then what had any to do with the Scriptures but as they came to the Spirit who gave them forth? . . . We are all thieves! We are all thieves! We have taken the Scriptures in words and know nothing of them in ourselves." Yet if Fox's writings are taken in context they show that he placed the guidance of the Holy Spirit on an equal plane with Scriptural guidance and no higher. No one knew his Bible better than Fox, or could quote it in argument more devastatingly. The later silence in meeting was quite unlike the actions of the eloquent founder of the Society.

³²Matthew 19: 19. Cf., Luke 10: 27.

early as 1658. George Fox was also concerned for their Christianization. Fourteen years after the preaching of Cole and Thurston, George visited the colonies and traveled extensively in order to preach to the Indians. William Penn came to Philadelphia and sat under an elm tree at Shackamaxon. There he made a treaty with the Indians--"the only treaty never sworn to and never broken."³³ Treated as human beings, the Indians reacted in like fashion. Years later, in 1756, among other reasons, the Quakers in the Pennsylvania Assembly objected to a tax that had been proposed to be used to finance a war against the Shawnees and Delawares. Quaker refusal to approve this tax was one of the primary reasons for which they stepped out of the government of Pennsylvania.³⁴

Although individual Quaker families had already moved westward from the Atlantic seaboard, the "mass" movement was caused by the establishment of the Northwest Territory in 1787. Many of the Quaker farmers had found it difficult to compete in the open market with goods produced by slave labor, but a more important reason for the exodus was that of the moral issue of slavery. Because of their religious convictions against human bondage, Friends looked to the new area with buoyant hearts, for in the new territory slavery was forbidden. "They sold

³³Mead, Handbook of Denominations, p. 93.

³⁴For corroboration of the given statement, see the following books: William Warren Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, 1765-1840 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), p. 40., Margaret E. Hirst, The Quakers in Peace and War (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1923), pp. 368ff, and Mead, Handbook of Denominations, p. 92.

their lands in Virginia and the Carolinas, worth from ten to twenty dollars an acre, for from three to six dollars, and departed with their movable goods and cattle never to return."³⁵ This move had been brought about through the efforts of prominent members of the Society who had traveled among their brethren preaching of the advantages possible in the Northwest Territory. Georgia, the Carolinas and Virginia lost nearly all of their Quaker population.³⁶ Friends in the new area became so numerous that in 1812, Ohio Quakers were allowed to set up a new Yearly Meeting, and in 1821, the largest congregation of Friends in the world was formed, Indiana Yearly Meeting. At the time it had 30,000 members.³⁷

In 1803, President Thomas Jefferson purchased an immense area of land from Napoleon Bonaparte of France and this area became known as the Louisiana Purchase. The possibilities in this new territory soon became apparent and settlers moved into it to "prove up" their claims. Members of the Society of Friends migrated into the Louisiana Territory in both northwestern and southwestern directions. Those who went to the northwest settled in what is now Iowa and surrounding areas while those Quakers who would later become Kansans moved southwest through

³⁵L. T. Jones, The Quakers of Iowa (published Doctor's thesis, The University of Iowa, Iowa City, 1914), p. 35. Cf., Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, pp. 126-127; Rufus Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1921), p. 840; and, Jackson, A Short History of Kansas Yearly Meeting, p. 9.

³⁶Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, p. 127. Cf., Jackson, A Short History of Kansas Yearly Meeting, p. 9.

³⁷Ibid.

the Purchase country.³⁸

As denoted earlier, Friends had long been concerned with the welfare of the Indians. The work with the Shawnees began during the life of William Penn. During the years which followed, the Friends had done much to develop in them the beginnings of Christian civilization. They had instilled in these Indians the feeling that Quakers were a group of whites who had their interests at heart. Baltimore Yearly Meeting had set up a mission for the Shawnee tribes near Fort Wayne, Indiana, in 1804; another was instituted for the Shawnees near Wapakoneta,³⁹ Ohio, shortly afterwards.⁴⁰ Such work was done in an attempt to fit the Indians to the ways of the white man; to educate and "civilize" them rather than to convert them to Quakerism. "The Shawnees, whose ancestors had been parties to the Pennsylvania compact of perpetual peace, . . . had become greatly disintegrated and fragments of it had wandered away in different directions."⁴¹ Some of these Indians had moved into Missouri, settling on the Carondelet grant. In 1825, this Shawnee group was moved into Kansas Territory.

Soon the press of white settlers moving into the Ohio region caused a scarcity of salable land. As usual, the easiest way to settle

³⁸Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism, p. 340.

³⁹An alternate spelling discovered for this word is Waughpaughkonetta.

⁴⁰Henry Harvey, History of the Shawnee Indians, From the Year 1681 to 1854, Inclusive (Cincinnati: Ephraim Morgan and Sons, 1855), p. 136.

⁴¹Anna Heloise Abel, "Settlement of Kansas Indians," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1903-1904, VIII (Topeka: The Kansas State Historical Society, 1904), p. 78.

this difficulty was to force the Indians off their reservation and to send them to lands further west, which no one wanted as yet. And so the government purchased the Ohio land of the Shawnees living near Wapakoneta and gave them title to a tract of land on the Kansas River in Kansas Territory. A portion of this Shawnee group was sent to the new reservation in 1832; the rest arrived the next year.⁴² As the Shawnees were leaving for their new home in Kansas Territory they said to a group of Friends: "Although we are going far away from you, we do not want you to forsake us." The Society remembered this expression of trust and the next year (1833) a deputation of three Friends, Simon Hadley, Solomon Madden and Henry Harvey, made a trip to Kansas Territory to observe the conditions of the Shawnees and to make recommendations as to their needs. When the Quakers arrived, the chief of the Shawnees said to them in welcome:

Our brothers the Quakers told us that we were going far to the west, but said that the arms of our brothers the Quakers would still be able to reach and assist us. . . . Now it appears that they have not forgotten us.⁴³

In conjunction with Baltimore and Ohio Yearly Meetings, Indiana Yearly Meeting determined to establish a mission school and station

⁴²For agreement as to the dates in which the Wapakoneta Shawnees moved to Kansas, see: Harvey, History of the Shawnee Indians, p. 234; Wilson Hobbs, "The Friends Establishment in Kansas Territory," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1903-1904, VIII (Topeka: The Kansas State Historical Society, 1904), p. 260; Nathan and Lydia Henshaw, [untitled report], Ibid., p. 267; Abel, "Settlement of Kansas Indians," p. 78; and, Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism, p. 842.

⁴³Raynor W. Kelsey, Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917 (Lancaster: New Era Printing Co., 1917), pp. 142-143. Cf., Harvey, History of the Shawnee Indians, p. 231.

among the Shawnees. The buildings were erected in 1836.⁴⁴ Thus did the first Quakers enter Kansas. They were not settlers but teachers and a mission superintendent.

Slow, steady progress was made at the mission for the next seventeen years, although toward the end of this period it was rumored among the Shawnees that they would be forced to move once more. This became an actuality in 1854 after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The Indians were requested to turn over a portion of their reservation to the government. Only then could they hold individual title to the rest of it. The government also encouraged them to move to Oklahoma, which many of them did.⁴⁵

Thus the desire and willingness to missionize the Indians, coupled with the knowledge that these red people would need help in acclimating themselves to the ways of white men brought the Friends into Kansas--an area in which their faith would often be tested.

⁴⁴Hobbs, "The Friends Establishment in Kansas Territory," p. 262.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 263.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY KANSAS QUAKERS

The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 repealed the Missouri Compromise which had been arranged in 1820 by Henry Clay. The Missouri Compromise had provided for the admission of Missouri as a slave state. It was acceptable to the North only because it prohibited slavery in the territories north of parallel 36° 30' (the southern boundary of Missouri). The Kansas-Nebraska Act had been pushed through Congress by Stephen A. Douglas and opened the territories to slavery thus allowing each territory to determine for itself its future status. The question of slavery would resolve itself by the method of popular sovereignty. A bloody chapter in American history was written because this congressional bill became law. Protagonists of slavery and their antagonists determined to strengthen their hold in Congress by assuring the "proper" attitude toward slavery in the territory most likely to become the next state--Kansas.

Members of the Society of Friends, long antagonistic to the "traffic in men's bodies,"¹ felt that they could do much to influence the issue by political and moral force. The promise of good, cheap farmland gave Quakers a second excellent reason for moving into the territory.

The first Quaker settler in Kansas Territory was George M. Harvey, who staked his claim on Dragoon Creek, near Leavenworth, in June

¹Frank S. Mead, Handbook of Denominations in the United States (New York: The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1951), p. 92.

of 1854. A short time later his brother, Samuel D. Harvey and family, and his father, Henry Harvey and family, joined George. In the fall of that year, Ira Hadley and Joel Hiatt "settled up" farms nearby.²

During Indiana Yearly Meeting in October of 1854, William H. Coffin, Benejah W. Hiatt and Eli Wilson of Richmond, Indiana, made plans to explore Kansas Territory to determine the availability of suitable farmland. These men visited the Shawnee mission and then turned west as far as the Marais des Cygnes. Along the banks of this river they staked their claims. However, when they returned in 1855 for permanent settlement, they took up claims on Stranger Creek, near the junction with Fall Creek, near the present-day town of Springdale, in Leavenworth County.³

These early Friends, as previously stated, did not believe in force of arms as a persuasive method. They believed that an attitude of non-resistance, staunch ideals and acts of kindness toward both pro-slavers and free staters would protect them better than weapons. They hoped in this way to help Kansas Territory become a free state. The first Quaker families quickly became known to the pro-slavers, through their friend, Joel Hiatt. Hiatt was an ex-Quaker who had dropped out of the Society in previous years. Although he moved in

²Sheldon G. Jackson, A Short History of Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends (Wichita: Day's Print Shop, 1946), p. 23.

³Rufus M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism (London: The MacMillan Co., Ltd., 1921), p. 846. Cf., William H. Coffin, "Settlement of the Friends in Kansas," Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1902, VII (Topeka: The Kansas State Historical Society, 1902), p. 322ff.

pro-slavery circles, he did his best to acquaint advocates of slavery with the ideals of the Quakers. At a later period he rejoined the Society and remained a loyal member until his death.

William Coffin relates that

Many of those worst men of the [pro-slave] leaders were our friends, on account of our uncle [Joel Hiatt], and they would talk to us privately and warn us of what was coming [in the way of border troubles]; but always professed friendship personally, and desire to see our colony protected. Uncle Joel had told them in our presence that we were Quakers, stock men, peaceable, wouldn't fight, but would be obedient to the laws no matter how things were settled; and, though we did not believe in slavery and would vote for a free state, yet we would never interfere with their "niggers," and would be the best kind of citizens. We did not take much interest in this kind of talk; but it was our best policy at this time to keep still, and act when we had the opportunity to effect anything, which I believe we all bravely did.⁴

Thus were the pro-slavers acquainted with views held by the Quakers. Conditions gradually worsened from this time on and the Quakers lived with tension for several years.

On November 27, 1855, the "Wakarusa War" broke out. Samuel J. Jones, postmaster at Westport, Missouri, was appointed sheriff of Douglas County, Kansas Territory. He decided that it was time for the "bogus laws" to be enforced. The "bogus laws" had been passed by the pro-slavery territorial legislature which met in 1855 at the Methodist Shawnee Mission. Soon after the meeting, a group of Osawatomie citizens adopted a resolution refusing to recognize the legality of that legislature. Historians agree, however, that there was no question of the legality of that legislature.

Jones called on the Governor for support and a call was sent out

⁴Coffin, Loc. Cit., p. 332.

for the militia to form. Some one thousand and five hundred men from the border counties of Missouri responded to Governor Shannon's call. These Missouri men felt that now was the time to burn and destroy Lawrence. The main body of troops took the Westport Road to Lawrence, but a smaller group with arms and cannon took the high prairie road from Leavenworth to Lecompton. On their journey, the militia passed within sight of the Quaker settlement on Stranger Creek without halting, knowing full well that the Friends were free-soil men.⁵

The militia which had responded to the Governor's order began forming around Lawrence. Meanwhile that beleaguered city had begun to raise its own troops. Two men slipped out of Lawrence and began to make their way through the pro-slavery lines under cover of darkness.⁶ Using prodigious quantities of liquor for bribes, they passed through the militia and reached Governor Shannon at the Methodist Shawnee Mission. When Shannon heard that both sides were preparing for a pitched battle, he hurried to Lawrence and ordered both sides to lay down their weapons. As the Missouri men returned home, they killed one man, a free-soiler named Thomas J. Barber.⁷

As William Coffin relates: "It was an anxious time with us, as well might be expected."⁸

⁵Ibid., p. 333. Cf., Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism, p. 848.

⁶Rufus Jones intimates that one of these two men was Joel Hiatt, but no definite answer to this little enigma has been located in the works of other historians dealing with the Wakarusa War.

⁷John Greenleaf Whittier commemorated his death in the poem entitled "The Burial of Barber."

⁸Coffin, Loc. Cit., p. 333.

An election, under the Topeka Constitution, a free-soil constitution, was scheduled for January 15, 1856. Shortly before it was to be held, a group of pro-slavers calling themselves the "Kickapoo Rangers" decided to raid the free-staters on Fall and Stranger Creeks in order to demoralize and terrorize them so that the election might fail. When this imminent raid was discovered, a free-soil rider galloped into the Quaker settlement on Stranger Creek and informed the men that they should arm themselves and prepare for the raid, for the "Kickapoo Rangers" had sworn to drive all abolitionists from that portion of the territory.

When William H. Coffin heard this news he was in a quandry as to what to do.

My wife was in the house with our four little children and knew nothing about it and I said nothing. We could expect no favour from such a body of men, composed, as they were, of the worst description of border men of the Jesse James type, and I had little confidence or expectation that a hurried rally of the neighbors would succeed in stopping them, organized as they were. I do not think that I was afraid at that time, being young and excitable, but my education was such I could not, with conscience, kill a man; but when I got to reasoning with myself about my duty in the protection of my family, my faith gave way. I had an excellent double-barrelled gun, and I took it outdoors and loaded it heavily with buckshot. It was near bed time; my wife and children soon went to sleep, and I barred the door and set my gun handy, and made up my mind I would shoot any man or set of men that undertook to break it. A cabin, built as they were of logs at that time, made a pretty good fort; but I could get no sleep, having laid down with my clothes on. Finally, towards midnight I got up, wife and children peacefully sleeping, drew the loads from my gun and put it away; and then, on my knees, I told the Lord all about it and asked His protection; and so, casting all my care upon Him, I felt easy, went to bed, was soon fast asleep, and slept until sun-up the next morning. The free-state men had rallied in force the night before

and had a battle; several men shot, one killed, and others wounded; but it had the effect to divert the route of those wicked men so they had not reached our location, but crossed the Stranger higher up the stream.⁹

When the date for the voting arrived, the Quaker settlers went to Leavenworth to cast their votes.

A great many Missourians had come over from Platte County and were congregated in the streets. For some reason, they concluded to let the free-state men cast their votes and then break up the poll. In the afternoon, when I had just voted, as James Wilson came next to me he was collared by an armed man and thrown to one side; and then a large body of men, armed with guns, revolvers and bowie-knives, knocked in the window at the voting place, captured and carried off the ballot box, and beat nearly to death one of the judges, Wetherald by name, a worthy young man and a member of our Society, living in the city. The free-state men were utterly overpowered by numbers and made no resistance, which was the very best thing, under the circumstances, to have done.¹⁰

The members of the Society living in this area were in continual danger from militant pro-slavers. In all of their activities they had to be aware of dangers into which they might unwittingly fall. On the 27th of May, 1856, William Coffin was sent by his wife to Leavenworth for provisions. He traveled by horseback so as to avoid any encampments of Missouri "visitors" intent upon degradation. Shortly after entering the town, Coffin began to notice posters calling attention to a killing which had occurred on Pottawatomie Creek in southern Kansas. The signs proclaimed that abolitionists had done the killing and asked for retaliation.

In a short time there was a commotion; drums beat to arms, and a company of South Carolinians paraded the streets, arresting and taking prisoners the leading business men of the city who were free-state men; threw picket guards out on all the roads and

⁹Ibid., pp. 334-335.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 336.

streets leading away from the city, with orders to shoot any man who dared to pass. . . . I quietly stood among the crowd, not knowing what moment I, also, might be taken. . . . In a short time they came marching these men down the street, taking them out to some vacant lot to shoot them. Only by urgent solicitation of . . . leading pro-slavery officers were they prevented from doing this. . . . The guards were kept out till sundown. I found a place I could slip out, and taking my groceries and a sack of flour, which was about the last we had for a long time, arrived home after night, glad to escape and thankful for preservation.¹¹

Not even one's horses were safe. In the spring of 1856, one Quaker settler had purchased two horses, paying \$150.00 for one of them, a bay. The bay was confiscated by a scouting party from the pro-slavery camp on the Little Stranger. This disgruntled Quaker, for the moment forgetting his pacifism, turned the remaining horse over to Simon P. Hawkins, captain of a free state ranger band. From that time on, the Friend contented himself with riding a mule.¹²

Benejah W. Hiatt's life was endangered by a band of pro-slavery men but his previous hospitality to them on a cold night the past winter caused them to set him free.¹³

It was often dangerous to venture out alone on the prairie, yet the Quakers continued to go quietly about their business, unarmed and trusting in their Lord for protection. In midsummer of 1856, William Coffin set out from home hunting for lost oxen. He was some four miles to the southeast of the Quaker settlement when, looking back, he saw two uniformed men riding Missouri horses. They were heading for him at

¹¹Ibid., p. 338.

¹²Ibid., p. 338.

¹³Jackson, A Short History of Kansas Yearly Meeting, p. 26.

full speed. Coffin realized that his horse had not the speed to race them so he continued to canter along. As the riders drew nearer, Coffin earnestly gave his problem to God. The two men, heavily armed, rode up on both sides of the Quaker and stopped his horse. Then the men began to question him. Believing that they would not harm him before finding out to which side he belonged, Coffin decided to "play dumb."

They pointed over to Captain Wright's house and farm and asked me who lived there. I told them. "Is he at home?" "I don't know." "Where is Joe Wright?" "I don't know." "Where are the Dunlap men?" "I don't know." One of them leaned off his horse toward me and, hissing through his teeth with an oath, said in a loud voice: "What do you know?" I looked up with a kind of foolish grin and said: "I believe my pony can outpace anything you have." They looked at each other for a moment, and both broke out in a laugh, and we rode on slowly. They soon got tired of asking me questions. I pointed out in the direction of home, and asked them to go with me and get dinner. They then used me civilly, and thanked me, and I have no doubt concluded I was probably some of the pro-slavery Missouri settlers, a few of whom lived above us on Fall creek; at least, was not worth robbing, and had not sense enough to be worth killing; and so they let me go on a trail leading off towards home, where I soon found my oxen in the hazel thickets. It was one of the times when it was necessary to be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves." We never in such cases, prevaricated, but told the truth; but I am free to say that sometimes we told as little as possible.¹⁴

Factors such as constant hardships and danger had caused attendance at the Quaker mission school at Shawnee to decrease rapidly. In August of 1856, the mission school, long fearful of attack, had its worst fears realized.

One day in August several children were taken out of school by their parents who gave as the reason, that they feared an

¹⁴Coffin, "The Settlement of Friends in Kansas," pp. 340-341.

attack on the mission. . . . The day following the removal of those children . . . a posse of eighteen armed men rode into the mission door-yard. They had thrown down the fence and made their way through the farm to the barn. There they had found all the horses harnessed ready for work in the field. They cut the harness in pieces and threw it on the ground, put saddles on the horses, and led them out with the ones they were riding. The Superintendent went out to remonstrate with them, and to entreat them to leave one horse that he might go to Westport . . . to bring a doctor for his wife who was then lying sick in the house. He was cursed and abused by the man who called him a "nigger stealer" and the leader, pointing a gun in his face, ordered him to leave, or, said he, "this is only the beginning of what you may look for!" It was useless to reply and the superintendent went in. The men told John Benny, the farm assistant, that if he appeared again they would shoot him down. They took all the cattle and such provisions and property as they could get away with. As they started away with their booty, they found one horse that would not answer their purpose. One of the band suggested that they leave that one. "Not!" yelled one of the ruffians, and shot it down in the road.¹⁵

The mission superintendent and his family left for Indiana shortly afterwards. Martha Townsend, a teacher, traveled with them. The mission was not repaired and reopened until the spring of 1857.

The Quakers of the Leavenworth area had been under constant tension since arriving in Kansas Territory. Summer was drawing to a close and their provisions were nearly exhausted. Several of the settlement's families determined to go into Missouri to live until the greatest of the danger was past. During this interlude, they lived in Buchanan County, Missouri. While there, the friends did much towards educating their Missouri neighbors about the peace views of the Society. The Quakers returned late in the fall of 1856 after the new Governor, Geary,

¹⁵Jackson, Op. Cit., p. 18. Cf., the story in the Indiana Yearly Meeting Minutes for 1857 which speaks of this episode at greater length.

had successfully restored order in the Kansas Territory.¹⁶

Unlike their more northern friends, the Quakers at the Spring Grove settlement suffered relatively little during the border troubles. Although they had made their homes near the Osawatomie area, the Spring Grove Friends had not been close enough to be involved in any physical violence. Only three incidents had occurred among these folk: Richard Wendenhall had been a member of a "citizen's committee" which repudiated the "bogus laws." At one time he was arrested for this action, but was later released. Ira Hadley, of Cottonwood, the first Quaker settler of the area, was arrested by a group of pro-slavers, but spurred his horse and escaped in a "hail" of bullets. Lastly, Perry Mills, another settler was almost hanged and several of his cattle were stolen. These were the only trials of the Spring Grove settlement.¹⁷

Thus about two hundred Friends had braved the vicissitudes of border warfare and had, in some measure, helped "bleeding Kansas" to become a free state.

During this same era, three Friends' meetings had been established. The members in the area of Fall and Stranger Creeks petitioned Whitewater and Milford Monthly Meetings in Indiana to establish a Preparative Meeting. This petition was granted and the new meeting, called "Kansas Preparative Meeting" was set up May 10, 1858.¹⁸ The same year in the same area, a monthly meeting was set up known as "Kansas Monthly

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 26-27.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁸Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism, p. 851

Meeting."

South of Osawatimie, the first monthly meeting in Kansas, Spring Grove Monthly Meeting, was set up. In 1860, Cottonwood Monthly Meeting was established by Ackworth Quarterly Meeting in Iowa.¹⁹

These Quaker pioneers came to Kansas Territory to make new homes for their families. They were willing to put up with many hardships. Even the border troubles did not disturb them or frighten them away once they had decided that they were doing God's will. These Friends were farmers, used to hard work and toil. They would not have known what to do with an easy life, having no dreams of wealth or luxury. Honest, diligent, dependable and with little education, these Quakers were a good cross-section of the Friends throughout America. Indeed, they were a good representation of the American rural populace of that era.²⁰

Kansas was admitted to the Union as a free state on January 29,

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 851ff. At this point an explanation of the various Quaker "meetings" may be helpful. Although the term "preparative meeting" is no longer used within the Society, it earlier was used to designate the first step in church organization. A group of Friends would ask permission to establish worship services and to have care of local business matters under the supervision of a parent body. A "monthly meeting" is the local church having complete autonomy in the care of its own business and meets once a month (as did the preparative meeting). From the monthly meeting all other Quaker governmental bodies are derived. A "quarterly meeting" is composed of several monthly meetings and receives its power from their consent. Yet once established, it has the authority to correlate the activities of the member meetings and to "lovingly coerce" them into action. Likewise, a "yearly meeting" is formed from several quarterly meetings and usually covers a state or multi-state area. It receives its power from the quarterly meetings and attempts to coordinate the work of the quarterly meetings into a unified whole.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 865f.

1861. In that same year the Civil War broke upon the nation. The Friends of Kansas thus faced another time of testing for their pacifism. These folk felt that to remain entirely faithful to the letter and spirit of the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, they could not countenance any participation in fighting and warfare. Yet the Civil War, more perhaps than any war in our history, was a war of highly tempered emotions. It came shortly after Kansans had gone through a decade of strife and border warfare and was fought, in part, on the same issue. It would have taken superhuman qualities for Friends to keep all of their young men from participating in the fighting. They were not entirely successful.

Kansas was called upon by the Federal government to raise several regiments and succeeded in raising fifteen white regiments, a white battery; three Negro regiments and a Negro battery. Several of the young Friends served in these Kansas regiments. Newton Minshaw, of Hesper Monthly Meeting, enlisted in one such regiment and was disowned by his meeting.²¹ The minutes of Kansas Preparative Meeting record that on December 3, 1862, the Overseers of the meeting informed the assembled Quakers that Caspar Pierce had "so far departed from our Christian Testimonies as to frequent Balls & do Military [sic] service."²²

²¹Jackson, A Short History of Kansas Yearly Meeting, p. 38.

²²This quotation is taken from Quaker record books, or "minutes" as the Friends term them. In the last few years it has been a policy of Kansas Quakers to collect the record books of the various meetings into one central location for safe-keeping. Hundreds of such books have been placed in a fire-proof vault in the basement of the University Friends Church, Wichita, Kansas. These records were originally written in many secretarial styles and, with the exception of the Yearly Meeting

On February 11, 1863, Caspar's brother, Alexander, was accused of the same infraction of the rules. Their names were forwarded to Kansas Monthly Meeting so that action might be taken against them.²³ In April, the name of Samuel Worthington was added to the list. The last name to be reported to the monthly meeting was that of Allen Ball, who enlisted early in 1866, after the war.²⁴

The documents which record these incidents must be read with understanding. To gain historical insight into such actions it must be realized that they were not meant to be arbitrary. The Society was firmly convinced that a life of love for all mankind had been initiated by Jesus of Nazareth and deviations were contrary to the will of this heavenly Being. For a Friend to take up arms was to fall away from revealed truths. Such a person would be counseled with in an attempt to bring him back to the tenets of the Society. Only as a last resort was such a person separated, or disowned, from membership. Kansas Friends during this period were adamant concerning all the points of their faith. One youth of Kansas Preparative Meeting, Thomas Jefferson Wilson, married a non-Friend, or "outside of meeting" as it was then termed. The Society frowned upon such actions entered into without

minutes, were all handwritten. Often no pagination was supplied and the books were untitled except for the name of the meeting from which they came. It was felt that an orderly method of citing this material was needed. Therefore, each citation from unpublished minutes has been entitled; after which follows the name of the meeting, the date in which the entry was made and the page number of the record book. Thus the citation for the above quotation is as follows: "Minutes," Kansas Preparative Meeting, 12/3/1862, p. 60.

²³Ibid., 2/11/1863, p. 62.

²⁴Ibid., 4/8/1863, p. 65.

prior discussion in monthly meeting. Wilson was counseled with and manifested sincere regret for not having received permission for his marriage and so was retained as a member.²⁵ Small wonder then, that bearing arms was considered to be a grave infraction of their discipline. For cases of offence, the monthly meeting appointed a committee of two or three older friends to counsel with the "miscreant," and if possible, bring him to a realization of his "error." If the offender remained firm in his obstinacy, he was disowned. However, testimonials of disownment were never prepared without the full consent of the entire local meeting and then only as a last resort.

Kansas Monthly Meeting received the names of Caspar and Alexander Pierce, Samuel Worthington and Allen Ball from Kansas Preparative Meeting. It then appointed committees to counsel with the youthful deviates.

The case of Caspar Pierce is interesting. Archie Jones, James Stanley and John B. Morgan were assigned to counsel with him and report to the meeting as to their success. For almost five months they were unable to visit with him due to an epidemic of disease. On May 13, 1863, the committee reported to the monthly meeting that Caspar had contracted a "contagious sickness" and had perished. However, they had been reliably informed that upon his deathbed "he acknowledged that his views . . . had undergone a change and that he did not conceive it possible to do so and do right, all of which is satisfactory to

²⁵Ibid., 2/11/1863, p. 62

Friends, and the case is dismissed from the Meeting."²⁶ So presumably, he was allowed to be buried as a member of the Society in good standing.

Iram Hinshaw and Alexander Pierce did not fare so well in their dealings with the counselors. Hinshaw, a member of Springfield Preparative Meeting, accused of engaging in military service, was disowned in April of 1863.²⁷ Pierce was allowed to retain his membership in the Society of Friends only after offering "a paper of acknowledgment for his deviation."²⁸

Samuel Worthington's case is indicative of the patience and forbearance shown by the Society when an offender offered any encouragement for eventual repentance. His case was first reported by Kansas Preparative Meeting in April of 1863. His committee of counselors had "frequent opportunities with him, & . . . he manifests love for Society, but is not yet willing to acknowledge his deviation, whereupon after full consideration, the meeting comes to the judgment to continue the case."²⁹ Throughout 1863, 1864 and 1865, Worthington kept the hope alive in his meeting that he would repent of his actions. In December of 1865, Worthington finally acknowledged his error and in January the case against him was dropped by his meeting.³⁰

²⁶"Minutes," Kansas Monthly Meeting, 5/13/1863, p. 77.

²⁷Ibid., 4/15/1863, pp. 72-73.

²⁸Ibid., 4/15/1863, p. 72.

²⁹Ibid., 4/15/1863, p. 73.

³⁰Ibid., 4/15/1863, p. 73; 10/14/1863, p. 86; 10/12/1864, p. 106; 10/18/1865, p. 133; 11/15/1865, p. 134; 12/13/1865, p. 136; 1/17/1866, p. 138. Although the records do not so state, it is interesting to speculate that Worthington's enlistment could have expired by 1865, hence his willingness to return to good standing in the Society.

This case is indicative of the patience with which the Friends dealt with their offenders. An arbitrary group would never have continued such a case for three years only to let the matter drop when the recalcitrant manifested a willingness to return to favor.

Two other men fared less favorably than had Samuel Worthington. Enos and John Rees were disowned in January of 1866, during the same business meeting in which the case against Worthington was dropped.

Enos and John were "read out of meeting" with the following words:

Enos Rees who has had a right of membership in the society [sic] of Friends, has deviated so far as to perform military service for which he has been treated with without the desired effect [sic] we [sic] therefore disown him from being a member with us.

Signed in and By [sic] direction of Kansas Monthly Meeting of Friends held 17th day of 1st mo. 1866.

Caleb Mills
Marrah 31 Wilson Clerks

John Rees who has had a right of membership in the Society of Friends has deviated so far as to perform Military Service for which he has been treated with without the desired effect. We therefore disown him from being a member with us.

Signed in and By [sic] direction of Kansas Monthly Meeting of Friends held 1st mo. 17th 1866.

Caleb Mills
Marriah Wilson Clerks³²

During the Civil War era these cases are interesting for this study only because they are exceptional. Most of the Quaker settlers

³¹The name of this Quaker lady is rendered three ways in the same record book: Marrah, Maria and Mariah. No definitive spelling was discovered.

³²"Minutes," Kansas Monthly Meeting, 1/17/1866, p. 138.

in Kansas were not bothered by the recruiters because their views were so well known and the greatest majority of the Friends quietly adhered to their pacifism and refused to bear arms. Most young Quakers grew to manhood imbued with the principles of their "peace testimony." One example of Quaker devotion to the concept of neighborly love may suffice. On September 15, 1877, Joab Murphy, of Peace Monthly Meeting, produced the following testimonial at monthly meeting:

To Peace Mo. Mt. of. friends [sic],

Dear friend, Sometime Ago in the heat of passion, I attempted to strike a fellow being. I am Sincerely Sorry that I let my passion get the better of Me, in this way, And hope the meeting will look over my offence And Continue Me a member.³³

Thus did individual members of the Society attempt to carry out the injunction of Jesus: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."³⁴

As the Civil War slipped further into the past, Kansas Quakers found another field of endeavor. In the late spring and early summer of 1868, the Kansas and Cheyenne Indians began sporadic raiding and warfare among themselves in the northern portion of the state. Having long had an interest in the Indians, the Friends of Cottonwood Quarterly Meeting determined to labor for a cessation of hostilities and a return of the Indians to their reservations. The Quarterly Meeting held June 13, 1868 appointed a committee composed of Thomas H. Stanley, Jacob Bales, John, Jesse and Jacob V. Carter, John Hammer and Abel Bond to visit with the "Kaws and Cheyenne Tribes and such others as may seem

³³"Minutes," Peace Monthly Meeting, 9/15/1877, p. 68.

³⁴Mark 12: 31.

necessary and if way should seem to open for the performance of said visit to endeavor to labor with them in the love of Christ for the restoration and promotion of peace as Truth seems to open the way."³⁵ In December of 1868, a report was made to the quarterly meeting by Thomas H. Stanley. He noted that visits had been made to the Indians by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs and certain of the committee members. This group had informed the Cheyenne Indians "that they must not come in to fight the Kansas Indians and they have consented to comply with the request; And one of the Tribes Confederated with the Cheyennes are willing to make peace with the Kaws."³⁶

This "concern" for the Indians continued throughout 1869 and was developed into a "labor of love" for the "cause of Peace and for the general elevation of the Indian tribes."³⁷ Visits were made by members of the committee to the Indian Commissioner in Washington, D. C., so that reservation passes granting access rights into the reservation might be procured. A standing quarterly meeting committee was set up which worked with these tribes for many years.³⁸

³⁵"Minutes of COTTONWOOD QUARTERLY MEETING SHOWING THE SETTING UP OF COTTONWOOD QR MTG FIRST QR MEETING HELD 3 Mo 11# 1868 - - Records Shows from 3rd Mo 11# 1868 to 3rd Mo 10# 1877 [sic]." The foregoing is an exact transcription of the typed title affixed to the record book of Cottonwood Quarterly Meeting. 6/13/1868, p. 4.

³⁶Ibid., December, 1868, pp. 4-5.

³⁷Ibid., September, 1869, p. 12.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 12ff. See the reports of this committee during the ensuing years for reports of their work with the Indian tribes.

CHAPTER III

THE REVIVALISTIC INFLUENCE

During an entire generation the Quakers in Kansas had been under the supervision of Indiana Yearly Meeting. In 1869 the Kansas Friends requested their parent yearly meeting to organize a new yearly meeting in the Jayhawker State. Indiana requested the other American yearly meetings to give their opinions as to the advisability of such action. No objections to the proposition were forthcoming and so the new yearly meeting was opened in October of 1872 with a native of North Carolina, William Nicholson, as clerk. The membership of the new Kansas Yearly Meeting was approximately three thousand.¹

There were at least two reasons for the Kansans' request for a separate organization of their own. First, the Quakers in the State had become quite numerous. Four quarterly meetings and several monthly and preparative meetings had been established. Spring River Quarterly Meeting, composed of Union, Spring River, Elk River and Ozark Monthly Meetings, lay in the southeastern portion of the state; Cottonwood Quarterly Meeting, comprising Cottonwood, Toledo and several preparative meetings, was established in the area west of Emporia; Hesper Quarterly Meeting, consisting of Hesper, Spring Grove, Shawnee and Lawrence Monthly Meetings, was located between Lawrence and Kansas City; and Springdale Quarterly Meeting, including Springdale and Tonganoxie Monthly Meetings,

¹Rufus M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism (London: The Macmillan Co., Ltd., 1921), p. 864.

lay in the district north of the Kansas River.²

An area having so many established meetings was clearly entitled to a yearly meeting. It would have been a hardship upon Kansas Friends to insist that they continue to attend yearly meeting in Indiana under the auspices of that body. Too many miles lay between Kansas City and Richmond to be covered in a spring wagon and a four horse span.

Secondly, Kansas Quakers were greatly influenced by the surge of revivalism which swept across the western portion of the American continent during the years from 1860 to 1900. The Friends of Indiana were not influenced to the extent that were the Friends of Kansas. A theological coolness thus developed between the two groups. Deeply caught up in this new theology and feeling that they were numerous enough to have care of their own business meetings, Kansas Quakers petitioned for, and received, their own yearly meeting.

Without consciously making any value judgments, the concept of revivalistic-evangelism must be examined in order to gain historical insight into the possible reasons for the decline of pacifism among Kansas Friends after the end of the Civil War.

The theology upon which their belief in revivalism was based lay, in part, upon a literal interpretation of certain passages from the Bible. Like the neo-Platonism and Manichaeism of late-classical and early medieval times, humanity was felt to be wicked, depraved or corrupt. All efforts of men to achieve spiritual salvation were doomed

²Sheldon G. Jackson, A Short History of Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends (Wichita: Day's Print Shop, 1946), pp. 40-41.

because of the innate nature of mankind. Humanity would go from bad to worse until suddenly, Jesus would return in His glory and begin a millennial reign of peace and righteousness in which Christians would share. Friends had long been fervent believers in a very private and personal relationship with God. This viewpoint changed under the impact of revivalism to an intense public attempt to "get right with God," often culminating in a session at the "mourner's bench" during a revival meeting.

This belief in the innate wickedness of mankind and the need for an instantaneous decision for Christ replaced the older Quaker view that one could make a slow growth into the Christian life. Earlier Friends had felt that slow human achievements would bring a better world into being. Before the turn of the twentieth century, the pivot of hope had changed from human efforts to a sudden act of God.³ Such feelings may have tended to weaken Quaker interest in pacifism as a force in social action.

Due to the influence of revivalism, Kansas Quakers felt a need for more activity in their meetings for worship. Because of a historical kinship felt for their past, however, Friends in Kansas were slow to adopt the practices of revivalistic-evangelism and each new adaptation to this theology was resisted by certain Friends.⁴ Change, although slow, came surely. These Kansans wanted to remain Quakers, yet desired a "closer" relationship with God and so gradually adopted

³Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism, pp. 927-928.

⁴Jackson, A Short History of Kansas Yearly Meeting, p. 64.

innovations used in other evangelistic protestant denominations but never previously accepted among Friends.

Among these changes were the holding of night services, prayer meetings, revival meetings (which turned the "facing bench" into a "mourner's bench"), joint business sessions, vocal bible reading in worship services and the introduction of paid ministers.

That such a revival should have a profound effect on the method and practices of the society [sic] organization is understandable. It is the one factor which stands out prominently in explaining present day practices of Kansas Yearly Meeting.⁵

One researcher states that "by 1900, so largely had the ancient Quaker characteristics been obliterated, that little real difference longer existed between Kansas Quakers and other evangelical denominations."⁶

It is easier, takes less time to build up a congregation of persons who accept Christ than to train them in the ways of thinking and doing as Friends. These people have known nothing of Friends except from their contact with a very few members. They have been awakened through the ministry of Friends. They want a church and want to be Friends, but they know nothing of the management or conduct of meetings as Friends held their meetings years ago.⁷

In fact, Friends came to feel that the testimony of pacifism would develop in new converts without special instruction. After 1870, this doctrine did not seem to be considered an integral part of Quaker teaching. The exposition of pacifism was included in the Yearly Meeting

⁵Sheldon G. Jackson, "Quakers in Kansas, 1833-1900" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Kansas, 1946), p. 73.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Jackson, A Short History of Kansas Yearly Meeting, pp. 64-65.

Discipline and was available to all who wished to learn of it but the viewpoint was no longer stressed.

During the first two years of its existence, Kansas Yearly Meeting had no existing committee on peace.⁸ However, such a committee was set up in 1873, and in 1874 made its first report.⁹ During that year, Jesse Green, a member of the Peace Committee spent several months traveling throughout Kansas, Missouri and Iowa in giving lectures on pacifism, distributing tracts and organizing peace committees in local meetings.¹⁰

The Peace Committee of the Yearly Meeting, in the report for 1875, emphasized a concern that

The want of the spirit of the Prince of Peace in some is a great hindrance to the progress of the cause of peace in some localities where Friends have labored.

Some Friends do not sustain the principles of peace by practically pursuing a quiet and forgiving course of conduct toward those with whom they mingle . . . as much as would be best.

The membership of this Yearly Meeting, as a mass--are not well informed in the Gospel matter of peace.¹¹

The records for 1876 denote that a committee consisting of William Coffin, Francis A. Wright and Enoch Hoag, was sent to Philadelphia by the Yearly Meeting to attend an interdenominational conference on peace. The chairman of the Yearly Meeting Peace Committee noted that

⁸Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Lawrence: Journal Steam Book and Job Printing House, 1872). Cf., the minutes for 1873.

⁹See the Yearly Meeting minutes for 1874.

¹⁰Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Lawrence: Journal Steam Book and Job Printing House, 1874), p. 26.

¹¹Ibid., 1875, p. 33.

"there is much need of an awakening in the minds of Friends . . . for the more perfect teaching of the principles of the Gospel of Peace to the children."¹²

In 1878, the membership of the Peace Committee reported to the Yearly Meeting that

. . . it is not worth while [sic] to maintain a committee on the subject, with its present inefficiency, and they recommend that it be dispensed with, and that the subject be referred to the membership individually and collectively, with the hope that it will realize the great responsibility resting upon it, and endeavor to discharge it as may be able.¹³

The recommendation was not accepted and this committee continued its work as an autonomous organization for some years.

The following year (1879), the majority of work carried on by the committee consisted of distributing tracts on peace--seventy-three copies of Dymond on War and eight copies of Hancock on Peace.¹⁴

One complaint against a member for "bearing arms in self-defense" was registered in 1880.¹⁵ Mount Ayre Preparative Meeting's Committee on peace was discontinued for lack of finances.¹⁶ In that same year, the Yearly Meeting Peace Committee was merged with the Committee on Books and Tracts and was known for the next few years as the Committee on Books, Tracts and Peace.¹⁷

¹²Ibid., 1876, p. 44.

¹³Ibid., 1878, p. 18.

¹⁴Ibid., 1879, p. 32.

¹⁵Ibid., 1880, p. 10.

¹⁶"Minutes," Mount Ayre Preparative Meeting, 1880, p. 33.

¹⁷"Minutes." Kansas Yearly Meeting (Lawrence: Journal Steam Book and Job Printing House, 1880), p. 10. Cf., p. 34.

Little mention of pacifism was made in the Yearly Meeting minutes for 1882, other than to warn Friends to avoid "taking a part or countenancing in any way parades or any thing that leads to the encouragement and cultivation of a war spirit in the minds of our youth."¹⁸ Such an admonishment may seem like puritanical bickering at an innocent pleasure until one remembers that in 1882 the organization known as the Grand Army of the Republic, composed of northern Civil War veterans, was becoming a power in the United States. This group had begun the practice of observing state and federal holidays with a military parade, glorifying with pomp and ceremony the war just past. Many of the hamlets, towns and cities of the United States were feted with such displays and it was this type of parade that the Quakers were singling out for attack.

During the next ten years, little or no mention was made in the Yearly Meeting or local monthly meeting records on the subject of peace. This could be due to several factors. That period was an era of peace for the United States. For the first time since the settlement of the Friends in Kansas, no troubles beset them. There was no need for a proclamation of pacifism. Also, the years at the turn of the century were years of prosperity, hence there was little the Kansas Quakers could do in relief or rehabilitation work for needy peoples. It is also possible that little mention of the doctrine was made in the minute books simply because few Friends felt any interest in this aspect of Quakerism. Whatever the reason may have been, the records are nearly

¹⁸Ibid., 1882, p. 41.

devoid of testimony concerning pacifism until the year 1893. No sermons or lectures on the topic were reported, no tracts distributed, and no money was allocated for the work of the peace committees.

The years from 1872 to 1893 constitute what may be termed the first half of the second stage of Quaker pacifism in Kansas. They were, on the whole, years of disinterest. In 1894 the second half of this stage began. A slow reawakening manifested itself and interest began once more to increase in the two decades before the outbreak of World War I.

In 1894, Seth W. Pearson, chairman of the Yearly Meeting Peace Committee, proclaimed that there was "a growing interest in the cause of Peace."¹⁹ Such a statement is verified by the records. Between 1893 and 1900, one hundred and twenty-seven sermons were reported to the Yearly Meeting on the topic of the peace testimony. Yet in the previous years from 1872 to 1892, not one such sermon was definitely reported, although "a few" were reported from Walnut Creek Monthly Meeting.²⁰ Simon Stout, in 1897, wrote that "Many of our ministers make the subject of Peace a prominent feature in their sermons."²¹

The Spanish-American War broke out in 1898. The Friends of Kansas were seemingly little interested. Not one mention is made in any of their records with regard to the war. The most important admonishment of the Yearly Meeting Committee on Literature and Peace in 1898

¹⁹Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.n., n.p.], 1894), p. 45.

²⁰Ibid., 1878, p. 18.

²¹Ibid., 1897, p. 45.

was that ". . . we are sorry to see that military drill is practiced in some of the institutions of learning of the state."²²

Although there is no record of any Kansas Friend serving in the military or being confronted by such service, the year of 1898 marks the point at which an increasing number of sermons, lectures and meetings began to be devoted to the topic of pacifism. In 1899, nineteen meetings and thirty-five sermons stressing this phase of Quakerism were reported to the Yearly Meeting. The next year, seventeen "peace meetings" were held, twenty-seven peace sermons delivered and 25,000 pages of pacifistic tracts were distributed.²³ The chairman of the Yearly Meeting committee on peace, William S. Wooten, declaimed in 1900 that:

No subject claiming the attention of the civilized world at this time, is more vitally incumbent upon us as Friends than is the subject of Peace. A tacit belief in the doctrine of the peaceful reign of our Lord is not, of itself, sufficient, but the practical solution of the problems of government and civil life also demand our strongest forces of thought and action in demonstrating these higher principles which Christ aims to inculcate in the hearts of men and nations.²⁴

Perhaps Mr. Wooten was belatedly acknowledging that a war had been fought with Spain and was still being fought with Filipino nationals in the far reaches of the Pacific Ocean. One year later, Mr. Wooten reported that "The work . . . has reached a place of larger usefulness than it has for some time past."²⁵ There is no elaboration of his

²²Ibid., 1898, p. 38.

²³Ibid., 1899, p. 40. cf., Ibid., 1900, p. 38.

²⁴Ibid., 1900, p. 38.

²⁵Ibid., 1901, p. 35.

meaning in the reports for that year. In the same year of 1901, eighteen peace books were given away, 33,000 pages of peace tracts were distributed, fourteen peace meetings were held and twenty-five sermons were delivered.²⁶

By 1901, a peace department had been established in The Guide, the newspaper organ used for reporting the detailed work of the Yearly Meeting. For several years peace articles appeared in it regularly.²⁷

William Wooten, in 1904, wrote that Friends should have a zealous advocacy of our views regarding peace, especially in view of the now rapidly spreading public sentiment in behalf of the prevention of wars. During the past year a Kansas State Peace Association has been organized, comprising influential citizens throughout the State, and while this is an undenominational movement, we are glad to report that several Friends are among the prime leaders of the organization.²⁸

Reporting the work of the Committee on Literature and Peace to the Yearly Meeting the following year, Dr. Wooten spoke in flashing metaphors. "We feel that on the Peace Question it has been our unspeakable pleasure to stand still as we view with amazement the wonderful progress the practical doctrine of peace has made among the nations this year. To God we give the glory."²⁹

Yet it was only the next year (1906) that the committee lamented that "there seems to be no way for us to do any work of value as a

²⁶Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Kansas City: The Seip Printing Co., 1901), p. 35.

²⁷Ibid., 1902, p. 37.

²⁸Ibid., 1904, p. 33.

²⁹Ibid., 1905, p. 38.

committee."³⁰ There may have been valid reasons for this feeling.

Once more the local ministers had lost fervor for the peace testimony. From an average of twenty-five to thirty reported sermons in 1900, the number concerning pacifism had dropped to five or six each year. In 1907 the committeemen did not even bother to attend Yearly Meeting.³¹ The report for 1908 mentioned that ". . . possibly from lack of sufficient interest, we have held no meeting this year."³² The secretary of the committee continually used the phrase "because of meager reports" in the committee records of this era.³³ Finally, in 1910, disinterest in the peace phase of the committee's work culminated in the division of the group into the "Book and Tract Committee" and the "Peace Committee." It was felt that the peace work would either halt completely or grow into a new vitality. In either case the peace work should not be "tacked onto" another committee.³⁴ The first duty of the Peace Committee was "to consider the need of the preparation of school histories or the introduction and use of such histories as are already written which discourag the spirit of war."³⁵

The state of Kansas was far removed from the intricacies of

³⁰Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Wichita: The Eagle Press, 1906), p. 44.

³¹Ibid., 1907, p. 44.

³²Ibid., 1908, p. 36.

³³Ibid., 1909, p. 39.

³⁴Ibid., 1910, p. 10.

³⁵Ibid., 1910, p. 41.

international diplomacy during the first years of the twentieth century. War clouds were usually dissipated long before they disturbed the lethargy of the Jayhawkers. Such clouds, when they arose, usually came from south of the border of Texas. The two broad expanses of oceans still protected the United States from interference from Asia or Europe. The year of cataclysm--1914--might still have been decades away. The President of the United States, William Howard Taft, although sharing in the general feeling of isolation, was an ardent worker in behalf of international harmony. Beginning in the early months of 1910, Taft began to work toward the arbitration of differences between the United States and other countries. Great Britain showed lukewarm enthusiasm; France, Germany, Italy and Russia were decidedly cold in their reception of the idea as suggested by Taft.

By 1911, however, Secretary of State Knox had successfully negotiated arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France. Germany, after some early "nibbling at the bait," dropped out of the conferences. By August, the treaties for international arbitration had been submitted to the American Senate for ratification.³⁶ Two months later, in October, the assembled members of Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends prepared the following petition to the President of the United States.

This Yearly Meeting desires to record its approval of the negotiation of treaties, providing for the submission of all

³⁶This summary of Taft's arbitration policy was taken from the work on Taft by Pringle. For a more complete treatment of this phase of American history, see Henry F. Pringle, The Life and Times of William Howard Taft (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1939), II, pp. 736-755.

points of dispute arising between our own Nation and either Great Britain or France to arbitration, or its equivalent. We commend President Taft and his Cabinet for their successful efforts toward achieving this result.³⁷

Missives were also prepared and sent to the two Kansas Senators asking them "to use their influence to secure a favorable vote for the confirmation of the treaties without material amendment at as early a date as practicable."³⁸

Although the treaties were rejected by the Senate, the evidence shows that for the first time since 1872, Kansas Friends had made a public declaration of their doctrine of pacifism and of their renunciation of warfare.

Those years also mark the growth of the Quaker doctrine of pacifism from a purely introspective desire to adhere to nonresistance in time of war to an earnest feeling that it was more important to allay the causes of war before it could begin. Although this concept did not achieve fruition until the decade from 1938 to 1940, it is possible to find the origins of this idea during the era after the turn of the century.

A storm of war was gathering over Europe. Very shortly the Atlantic Ocean would cease to isolate America from European wars. Shortly, ships of the United States would carry American soldiers and supplies to the battlefields of France to fight in a war brought about through the machinations of the Triple Entente and Triple Alliance powers. As early

³⁷Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Wichita: The Eagle Press, 1911), p. 10.

³⁸Ibid.

as 1913, war seemed imminent to many in America. It was in that year that Joshua Rowntree, a Quaker writer, penned these words:

If, as seems most probable, the coming struggle between the forces of the world . . . centres around the use or disuse of the anarchic barbarism of war . . . then undoubtedly a time of suffering lies ahead for those who take their stand with the Prince of Peace. . . . All men will certainly cease to speak well of us. . . . On the other hand . . . "who knoweth whether we are not come to the Kingdom for such a time as this?"³⁹

³⁹Joshua Rowntree, Brute Force versus Brotherhood [privately printed pamphlet], 1913.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The First World War began among the peoples of Europe in the year of 1914. Quakers in England promptly took upon themselves the responsibilities of caring for enemy aliens caught within the borders of the country by the outbreak of the war. Seven days after the declarations of war, "A message to Men and Women of Good Will in the British Empire" had been published by the Meeting for Sufferings of the London Yearly Meeting of Friends.¹ This was a call to all Englishmen to honor the plight of the "innocent aliens" from Germany, Austria and Hungary by treating them with intelligence, honesty and courtesy, recognizing that they were in no way responsible for the coming of the war. At the Kansas Yearly Meeting held in October of that year, members were reminded of the hardships and difficulties that citizens of the warring nations of Europe would face during the ensuing years. The Kansas Quakers determined to share in the work of the English Friends. It was recommended that \$1,000.00 be appropriated to be sent to the Meeting for Sufferings.

The Yearly Meeting further notated in a resolution that they hoped "the vain rulers" of Europe would "see their iniquity" and repent.² They further asked in this resolution that no taxes be used for furthering the

¹The London Meeting for Sufferings had been organized in the seventeenth century to work toward the alleviation of Quaker sufferings. It was later broadened to include humanitarian work to non-Friends.

²Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.d., n.], 1914), p. 9.

purposes of military autocrats. A commendation was sent to Woodrow Wilson and his Cabinet for their work of diplomacy in the Mexican affair. Lastly, the press of the United States was requested to make "constant utterances of friendship and good will among the nations as well as among our own mixed peoples."³

Reports from the quarterly meetings in 1915 indicate that they were quite active. Fowler Quarterly Meeting, held at Rosa Valley, Kansas, November 20th, sent resolutions for peace to its district representatives and senators in Washington and to President Wilson.⁴ Haviland Quarterly Meeting sent petitions to its Washington representatives "protesting against any attempts to increase the appropriations for the Army and Navy, Against [sic] imaginary enemies."⁵ During that quarterly meeting the Haviland Quakers wondered what provisions, if any, had been made for their exemption from military service as members of the Society of Friends. The Peace Committee secretary, J. S. Bond, was delegated to report to the next meeting with the desired information.⁶ Wichita Quarterly Meeting prepared a petition to the United States Congress asking for work of peace and arbitration "to resist any tendency toward undue increase of our army and navy."⁷

³Ibid., 1914, pp. 9-10.

⁴"Minutes," Fowler Quarterly Meeting, 11/20/1915, p. 137.

⁵"Minutes," Haviland Quarterly Meeting, 11/10/1915, p. 2.

⁶Ibid., p. 4.

⁷"Minutes," Wichita Quarterly Meeting, 12/4/1915, p. 33.

During that year of 1915, Kansas Yearly Meeting reported that twenty-four sermons on the subject of peace had been delivered and urged that individuals appeal "to their United States Senators and Representatives to use their efforts against appropriations to increase the army and navy, and for other war measures."⁸ One other action of the Yearly Meeting of 1915 was to send a letter to Woodrow Wilson asking him "to continue to promote as far as in you lies, the righteous and humane principles of peace and arbitration. . . . We pledge our united and loyal support . . . to withstand the demands of aggressive militarists."⁹

The year of 1916, with its news from the war fronts, kept the members of the Society in Kansas aware of their responsibilities toward humanity. These Quakers continued to work "in the name of peace." At the quarterly meeting level, J. S. Bond of Haviland, Kansas, incorrectly reported to his meeting that Friends would be exempt from military service without registration.¹⁰ Fowler Quarterly Meeting continued the practice of sending petitions to Congress requesting no increase in armaments. This quarterly meeting reported that many of the members were sending individual letters to senators and representatives stating the views of the Society of Friends on war.¹¹

Cottonwood Quarterly Meeting, one of the oldest groups of Quakers in the state, reported on September 16, 1916 that there had been

⁸Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.d., n.p.], 1915), p. 18.

⁹Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁰"Minutes," Haviland Quarterly Meeting, 5/13/1916, p. 5.

¹¹"Minutes," Fowler Quarterly Meeting, 8/19/1916, p. 179.

six sermons on "some phase of the Peace question and some have touched on the subject quite often."¹²

An unintentionally amusing incident is recorded in the handwritten minute book of Richland Monthly Meeting. On March 26, 1916, the members expressed a wish "that a document protesting against the preparedness for war be prepared and sent to our Congressmen and Senators." The next entry in the minute book is from the meeting held May 27, 1916. "On account of unavoidable delays regarding the Protest against Preparedness it was decided to discontinue the matter."¹³

On September 27, 1916, the peace committee of Pleasant Plain Monthly Meeting made its report to the members. This report, preserved in a handwritten record book, is notable mainly for its illiteracy.

There has [sic] been one & a half [sic] peace sermons. One member wrote letters to Washington, two letters to Congress [sic] One to Representative [sic] & One [sic] to President. No answer from the President. Two answered real pleasantly [sic] that they were glad to know the sentiment of the people regarding war. One spoke of sumitting [sic] the letter to the Comm. [sic] on Preparedness [sic] .

We do not favor a man of war.

The present situation demands us to pray "Thy Kingdom Come" & watch for our Lord Jesus to come, & work to get the people in expectancy & ready.

Some have been quiet [sic] entergetic [sic] in speaking [sic] of the principals [sic] of peace as against the preparedness Program. No money given. The Committee wrote one letter to Washington.

/s/ Arthur Pecock chairman¹⁴

¹²"minutes," Cottonwood Quarterly Meeting, 9/16/1916, p. 127.

¹³"minutes," Richland Monthly Meeting, 3/26/1916, p. 15. Cf., 5/27/1916, p. 18.

¹⁴"minutes," Pleasant Plain Monthly Meeting, 9/27/1916, p. 60.

The 1916 report of the Kansas Yearly Meeting describes the re-organization of the peace committee to insure its usefulness during the war. Dr. William L. Pearson, the chairman of the committee, Dr. Charles M. Sheldon, a teacher at Friends University and Edmund Stanley, the president of the University, attended the meetings of the State Teacher's Association during which time they succeeded in getting that assembled body to pass an almost unanimous resolution urging President Wilson "to maintain the historical American policy of International Peace and Arbitration. This is the first time, we believe, that this body has ever taken such a stand and it is of no little significance and encouragement."¹⁵ The report for 1916 also notes that approximately fifty sermons on the topic of peace were given throughout the state by ministers of the Society.

The following resolution was also adopted at the Yearly Meeting:

As war is a travesty in Christianity, and in direct violation of the ten commandments and the precepts of Jesus Christ, and in view of the rapid spread of militarism in our land, and the dreadful suffering and desolation caused by war:

We, your committee on Peace, call upon our members to use every effort within their power to avert and abolish military training in our Public Schools and colleges, and help to correct the misinterpretation of what constitutes true patriotism.¹⁶

Shortly afterwards the Quakers received their opportunity to demonstrate what true patriotism consisted of, for Public Law Number 12 of the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress was passed on May 15, 1917 and provided for a selective service law which made conscription

¹⁵Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.d., n.p.], 1916), p. 8.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 8-9.

in America a personal, universal and absolute dictate.¹⁷ The United States had decided, after a two-century history of leniency, that conscientious objectors should be available for military duty under Article I of the Constitution, Section VIII. However, Section fifty-seven of the National Defense Act, approved on June 3, 1916, as amended, read:

... and all persons who because of religious belief shall claim exemption from military service, if the conscientious holding of such belief by such person shall be established under such regulations as the President shall prescribe, shall be exempted from militia service in a combatant capacity; but no person so exempted shall be exempt from militia service in any capacity that the President shall declare to be noncombatant.¹⁸

On March 20, 1918, President Woodrow Wilson issued an Executive Order defining noncombative service as: (1) duty within the Medical Corps, (2) duty in the Quartermaster Corps and Corps of Engineers within the territorial limits of the United States, and (3) certain duties within these Corps overseas.¹⁹

Any pacifist youth subject to the draft would be classified as were other registrants, but upon receiving his classification he was to be issued a "Certificate of Exemption from Combatant Service."²⁰ Regardless of their claims, conscientious objectors were to be placed under the direction of the President and the Secretary of War.

¹⁷Lt. Col. Neal M. Wherry, Conscientious Objection (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 49.

¹⁸Public Law Number 85, 64th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: 1916).

¹⁹Wherry, Op. Cit., p. 56.

²⁰Ibid., p. 51.

However, members of the three "historic peace churches," the Society of Friends, the Mennonites and the Brethren, had become interested in the problem and had requested of Wilson, Secretary of War Baker and Provost Marshal General Crowder, who was in charge of the draft, that conscientious objectors be assigned to noncombatant activities in agriculture and industry. After March 16, 1918, an act of Congress provided for the Secretary of War to grant furloughs to enlisted men without pay or allowances. When this bill became law, certain pacifists began to be furloughed from military service. It was also provided that in certain cases a man might be furloughed for service in France in the Friends reconstruction unit.²¹

After the war, one farmer was asked what his response had been to the objectors furloughed to him.

[He answered that] he believed that they were, in the main, sincere. He believed this, he said, in spite of the fact that some of the objectors occasionally swore at the mules; later he qualified this seeming evidence of insincerity by characterizing forcibly the average Iowa mule.²²

With the foregoing as a general background of the provisions made for the conscientious objector during World War I, it becomes easier to describe the role played by members of the Society of Friends in Kansas.

During earlier years, Quakers had usually been exempted from military service because of their membership in the Society of Friends. However during World War I, after the passage of the National Defense Act of 1916, no one was automatically exempted and each individual had to make his own decision as to the type of duty he could perform without

²¹Ibid., pp. 59-60.

²²Ibid., pp. 61-62.

compromising his beliefs. Some Kansas Quakers chose to do any service required of them by their government, others limited their service to work in which they felt certain that they had no direct part in the killing of others. A small segment refused to cooperate in any way and were sentenced to prison.²³

In July of 1915 a group of Quakers gathered at Winona Lake, Indiana, and there formed the Friends National Peace Conference. In that same year Rufus M. Jones, professor of philosophy at Haverford College, selected four young men to go to Europe to work in the English Friends unarmed ambulance unit. When the United States declared war on Germany, Jones and James A. Babbitt organized a reconstruction unit at Haverford College. This unit would go to war-torn Europe to perform relief work. Representatives from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the Friends General Conference and thirteen yearly meetings of the Five Years Meeting met in Philadelphia on April 30, 1917. From this meeting originated the American Friends Service Committee. The service committee was instituted to supervise the relief and reconstruction work of American units in Europe.²⁴ Under its direction approximately one thousand men and women went to Europe to organize unarmed ambulance units, to construct and staff hospitals, to seek out lost members of families displaced by the war, to build sanitary dwellings for the

²³Francis T. Ross, "A Summary and Presentation of the Writings of Rufus M. Jones, Quaker Philosopher and Historian" (unpublished Master's thesis, Fort Hays Kansas State College, 1958), p. 96.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 127-128.

homeless, to reestablish schools and to feed multitudes of starving.²⁵

English Quakers had begun relief work in the Marne valley between Bar-le-Duc and Châlons-sur-Marne. Plans were made to merge the Haverford relief unit with the British group. The united unit was known as the Anglo-American Mission of the Society of Friends and worked under the aegis of the Civilian Department of the International Red Cross.²⁶

Rufus Jones tells of an amusing incident which occurred shortly after the sailing of the Haverford College unit of the American Friends Service Committee.

When the time came for the Unit to sail we had received favorable decision on all but eleven cases. These eleven men had to see their companions go without them. . . . We . . . kept . . . busily working on for their permits, which at last all came through on a memorable day. Only one of them still had "lions" in his path. This was Von Darwin Amick from Kansas. The "Von" in his name presented what seemed an insuperable obstacle to a passport. The good man was not a German and we had plenty of evidence that when his Kansas parents named him the "Von" was spelled Vaughn, but the boy had formed the habit of spelling it "Von" and now it lay between him and friendly service in France. The case involved a vast correspondence, many affidavits and some journeys to Washington. At length, through a personal visit to the French Embassy, we secured a permit for our Kansas friend who was encouraged by the officials in Washington and by us to write his name henceforth V. D. Amick!²⁷

On this first sailing, twenty-four Kansas Quakers were among the company.²⁸

A Boston doctor, Richard Cabot, observed the Friends units at

²⁵A Tribute of Love [booklet privately printed by a committee of Friends of the Kansas City Friends Church], 1925, p. 3.

²⁶Rufus M. Jones, A Service of Love in Wartime (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1920), p. 42.

²⁷Ibid., p. 58.

²⁸Ibid., Appendix A, p. 267.

work in France and gave them the following description.

We have hitched up our dispensary with the Quakers who are working in Paris and outside it for refugees in a spirit not equalled on the whole by any group I have seen out here. They work with their hands, build houses, help with the plowing, do plumbing work when plumbers are unobtainable, sleep in quarters that others find too hard, save money everywhere, and because they know what simple living is, are the best of case workers, never offending. . . . Others working here in France have friends and enemies, the Friends have only friends and I hear only praise of their work and can give only praise. . . .²⁹

Before November of 1917 the Friends unit from the United States was hard at work on French soil. On the eighth of the month a new Selective Service regulation was signed into law by Woodrow Wilson which made all earlier exemptions invalid. For a time it appeared that the American Quakers working in Europe would be forced to return to this country for military assignment. However, the War Department was reminded of the valuable work being done by the American Friends Service Committee so the Quaker units were allowed to continue their work without interruption.³⁰

The Kansas Quakers' "home front" was also very active during 1917. At the local level, Richland Monthly Meeting records for September 22, 1917 show that the members had begun making needed garments for overseas relief work.³¹ Kansas City Monthly Meeting records of May 7, 1917 indicate that these Friends endorsed hospital and relief work as a ". . . christian [sic] and patriotic duty" and made plans to support

²⁹Ibid., p. 156.

³⁰Ross, "Rufus M. Jones," p. 97.

³¹"minutes," Richland Monthly Meeting, 9/22/1917, p. 40.

such work.³² A donation of eighty dollars was given toward such support and on July 2, 1917 it was decided to give eighty dollars monthly to the American Friends Service Committee. Authorization was made to give certificates describing the pacifist position of Quakers to the men of draft age.³³ However, strict examination would be made of young men seeking church membership to insure that they were joining through conviction rather than from any hope of receiving military exemption.³⁴

At the quarterly meeting level, Haviland reported that all five of its local churches had active peace committees. This same Quarterly Meeting held fifteen peace meetings and seven sermons were devoted to pacifism. Seventy-eight dollars was collected for Syrian and Armenian relief and thirty-one petitions for peace were sent to Congress. Eight of the quarterly meeting youth were in active military service.³⁵

Mount Ayre Quarterly Meeting reported that "the meeting was united in standing by our former principles as a Friends Church . . . in regard to bearing arms in the war now raging."³⁶

Fowler Quarterly Meeting, on May 19, 1917³⁷ and Rose Valley Monthly Meeting, on June 2, 1917³⁸ reaffirmed their "belief in, and

³²"Minutes," Kansas City Monthly Meeting, 5/7/1917, p. 15.

³³Ibid., 7/2/1917, p. 20.

³⁴Ibid., 6/4/1917, p. 17. Cf., Ibid., 7/2/1917, p. 20.

³⁵"Minutes," Haviland Quarterly Meeting, 9/8/1917, p. 23.

³⁶"Minutes," Mount Ayre Quarterly Meeting, 5/19/1917, p. 271.

³⁷"Minutes," Fowler Quarterly Meeting, 5/19/1917, p. 39.

³⁸"Minutes," Rose Valley Monthly Meeting, 6/2/1917, p. 62.

adherence to the peace principle as set forth in our Church Discipline."

The poor-spelling Arthur Peacock³⁹ gave the peace committee's report for Pleasant Plain Monthly Meeting on August 22, 1917.

We have been grappling [sic] with the grave facts of the war for the past few months.

We are indeed thankful for the reconviction [sic] given us by our Government [sic] for our Peace principals [sic] & our testimony against bearing arms, in a definite [sic] & practical way in so much that each & every members [sic] may avail themselves of an exemption, claimed & established [sic] on the fact of his being a member of good standing of our religious society.

As a committee we have been rendering aid to our members who have been drafted in securing their exemptions, according to law. We have been in touch with the Red Cross work in securing funds, etc. And also have given & distributed information regarding Friends reconstruction & relief work.

While the war spirit is growing and spreading we have been loud & persistent in our denunciations [sic] & petitions to Congress against it. & for peace [sic].

/s/ Arthur Peacock⁴⁰

The assembly of the Yearly Meeting in October reported that one thousand five hundred copies of the pamphlet "Military Training in Our Schools" had been distributed; seventy-seven sermons had been devoted to the topic of peace; monies donated for relief work in France, Syria and Armenia amounted to \$272.04, and twelve young Friends were serving in the army.⁴¹ A message of thanks was prepared for the sixty-fifth Congress and the President for the law recognizing the pacifist position

³⁹This man's name is variously rendered "Pecock" and "Peacock" in his reports to the meeting. No definitive spelling was located.

⁴⁰"minutes," Pleasant Plain Monthly Meeting, 8/22/1917, p. 76.

⁴¹"minutes." Kansas Yearly Meeting ([p.m., n.], 1917), p. 9.

of the Society of Friends.⁴²

During the years from 1914 through 1917 Kansas Quakers had cried out against large military budgets and against United States involvement in the affairs of other nations. When the United States entered the war in 1917, however, Friends began to rethink their position and came to the conclusion that "an aggressive anti-war campaign would arouse antagonism, and be productive of nothing but harm."⁴³ As Halford L. Hoskins of Wichita, Kansas, expressed it:

Instead of "crying Peace! Peace!" when there is no peace which serves no purpose at present and might be actually harmful to the cause of the Society of Friends . . . [members can be most helpful] in furthering the cause of ultimate world peace, thru [sic] ministering to the grave needs of war-stricken peoples. It is only through helpful service in times like these that the ear of the world is reached and thereby a basis is laid for a more calm and sane consideration after the war of a just and lasting peace."⁴⁴

Throughout the rest of the war, the local peace committees became organs through which relief and reconstruction work was carried on. ". . . service and relief . . . will undoubtedly have more influence . . . than any amount of time and effort devoted to the abstract discussion . . . of Peace."⁴⁵

A. W. Jones felt, however, that "never was deep and unwavering conviction and clear teaching so much needed as now. In the past we

⁴²Ibid., p. 34. The law referred to is Public Law Number 85, 64th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: 1916).

⁴³Ibid., 1918, p. 26.

⁴⁴"Minutes," Wichita Quarterly Meeting, 9/7/1918, p. 95.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 96.

have been sadly remiss, and now when our youth are in darkness and sorely in need of light, we are giving them but little."⁴⁶ Mr. Jones felt that instruction in the Quaker doctrine of pacifism should not be halted by the war but rather should be intensified.

Were Jones' fears justified? Was there a radical departure from Quaker nonresistance on the part of the youth during the First World War? The small amount of information available to the researcher on this topic makes a definitive answer difficult to formulate. Since Selective Service archives have never been freely opened to scholars and because of the sketchy records of the Society on the exact position taken by young Friends, any answer must remain in the realm of supposition. As all youth were subject to the draft, any record simply stating the number of Society members in active military service is inconclusive. Each man had the legal option of either combatant or noncombatant duties. However, if an initial posit can be made setting the number of noncombatants within the military at one-third of the total, a rough estimate of the number of youth adhering to Society tenets may be established.

In 1917 the Yearly Meeting reported that twelve young men were in active service and twenty-four in relief work. The 1918 figures indicate that thirty-two men were in the army and six in relief work. In 1919 there were fifteen in relief work and twenty-six in the military. In 1920 two were in the army and three in reconstruction work.

If these greatly adjusted figures may be taken as typical for

⁴⁶Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Wichita: The Eagle Press, 1918), p. 26.

the entire group of Quaker men of draft age⁴⁷ it may then be assumed that the number of Friends adhering to some pacifist position was twice as large as the number of men who dropped away from the viewpoint of the Society on war.⁴⁸

During 1918 Quakers in Kansas continued to minister to the war-caused sufferings of others. The Yearly Meeting reported that five thousand dollars had been raised throughout the state for relief and reconstruction work.⁴⁹

At the local church level, Arthur J. Jones, the pastor of the meeting at Kansas City, left his ministerial post on August 1st to sail for France. Upon his arrival he entered reconstruction work with the American Friends Service Committee. Marianna Chase from the same local meeting had previously begun service in that country. Kansas City Monthly Meeting raised \$765.95 and procured five hundred garments for relief work in 1918.⁵⁰

The quarterly meetings were also active. Haviland Quarterly Meeting adopted a resolution asking Congress to vote "against the bill for Compulsory Military Training in our schools."⁵¹

⁴⁷When the figures for 1917, 1918 and 1919 are statistically checked by the use of the chi-square formula, the 1917 figures are significant at less than the .08 level, the 1918 figures at less than the .01 level, and the 1919 figures at less than the .12 level.

⁴⁸See the Yearly Meeting Minutes from 1916 to 1920.

⁴⁹Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Wichita: The Eagle Press, 1918), p. 25.

⁵⁰"Minutes," Kansas City Monthly Meeting, 9/2/1919, p. 66.

⁵¹"Minutes," Haviland Quarterly Meeting, 3/9/1918, p. 29.

Cottonwood Quarterly Meeting reported on September 21st that it had two active peace committees, that ten sermons had been given on the subject of peace, one hundred garments had been shipped to France for use by the American Friends Service Committee and \$389.07 had been donated for that country and twenty-eight dollars for the work in the country of Armenia.⁵²

A most flowery report of the situation existent in 1918 was given by Dorwin Bidley, superintendent of the peace committee of Fowler Quarterly Meeting. It is reproduced below because of its flashing metaphors, entangled phrases and the sour note of its ending.

Another year has passed, during which the world catastrophe has continued to sweep on with increasing fury without abatement, and the ravages of war, and bloody carnage in its enkindling hate, and barbarity are rushing with the fury of a devouring tempest to its unfinished, and unmeasured climax to stamp this generation in the annals of history as the "bloody age"--it is a solace and comfort to know--That the Lord, God Omnipotent is still reigning above all; And with Him are the issues of life.

As with bared hearts, we look in vain for some hand to stay the tide of destruction, we yet hear above the din of battle, the divine declaration, "My Kingdom is not of this world else could My Servants fight."

And looking we behold His finger pointing to the seething masses of suffering, the cry of orphans--homeless widowhood, ravished virtue, the wounded, and starving dying,--we hear again the call that grips our hearts, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto these, ye have done it unto Me;" And we rejoice that, with Him our mission is to heal, not to crush,--not to destroy, but to restore:

.....

It is disappointing that we are unable to furnish a tabulated report of the work done by the Quarterly Meeting . . .⁵³

⁵²"Minutes," Cottonwood Quarterly Meeting, 9/21/1918, p. 144.

⁵³"Minutes," Fowler Quarterly Meeting, 8/17/1918, p. 217.

That had been written on August 8, 1918. Five months earlier, on March 21, 1918, a German onslaught crashed against the British Third and Fifth Armies and soon penetrated the Allied lines to a maximum of forty miles. When the forces of Imperial Germany began their advance, five Quaker units were working only a few miles behind the lines. These Friends worked so busily helping the French peasants to escape that they lost their personal possessions as well as the tools and farm implements belonging to the reconstruction units.⁵⁴

In September, after serious reverses, Germany's allies began to collapse around her. Bulgaria, then Turkey, then Austria capitulated. The German General Staff asked for a peace based on the previously announced "Fourteen Points" of Woodrow Wilson. After reservations were made by the Allies, an armistice was put into effect on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 1918.⁵⁵

President Wilson decided to bolster his desire for a world government of nations and work toward the acceptance of his "Fourteen Points" by personally representing the United States of America at a peace conference held at Versailles, France.⁵⁶

Wilson's successes at Versailles were greater than many had hoped for but certain groups of senators in Washington determined to destroy these accomplishments and deter the United States from entering any

⁵⁴Ross, "Rufus M. Jones," p. 131.

⁵⁵Leon Wolff, In Flanders Fields (New York: The Viking Press, 1958), p. 271.

⁵⁶Leland D. Baldwin Recent American History (New York: The American Book Company, 1954), p. 68.

world league.

A resolution was formulated during Wichita Quarterly Meeting in September of 1919 and was forwarded to the Kansas senators: Charles Curtis and Arthur Capper. This resolution asked them to urgently

. . . do all you can consistently for the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, including the League of Nations. We do most sincerely deplore the efforts of many Senators to defeat the ratification of the Treaty, or else to weaken its power to promote peace on earth and good will among confused and suffering peoples, who look to the United States for light and liberty and republican government.

God forbid that the Senate should continue to disappoint and discourage many suffering nations.⁵⁷

In October the Friends' Yearly Meeting likewise asked members to "bring to bear every possible influence to secure the ratification of the Versailles Peace Treaty, including the League of Nations."⁵⁸

It was not until July 2, 1921 that a formal peace was made between the United States and Imperial Germany by a joint resolution of Congress. No League of Nations, no "Fourteen Points" had been achieved by Woodrow Wilson. He had demanded clean-cut victory or defeat. He got defeat.

What had been the effect of the First World War upon Quakers in Kansas? Firstly, they had established a relief organization that was destined to become world famous for its unselfish work for peace in the troubled areas of the world. Secondly, the Friends had successfully been able to retain the loyalty of a majority of their youth to the

⁵⁷"Minutes," Wichita Quarterly Meeting, 9/6/1919, p. 110.

⁵⁸Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Wichita: The Eagle Press, 1919), p. 10.

doctrine of nonresistance during a period of flaming emotions and prejudices. Thirdly, the youth had begun to examine the doctrine of pacifism objectively and reason out their own position rather than blindly accepting the concept because it was a tenet of the Society.

The war years had been a period of growth and activity for the Society. Only the passage of time could tell whether they would retain this rediscovered fealty.

CHAPTER V

THE INTERIM YEARS

This portion of the thesis will be devoted to the twenty-three years of peace between the end of World War I and America's entry into World War II. An attempt will be made to demonstrate the reasons for the decline of the peace testimony of the Friends after they had so fervently supported it in the latter years of the First World War. Several trends and topics will be discussed, all of which are intimately inter-related. First will be delineated the growing spirit of isolation from other Quaker religious bodies which was manifested by Kansas Yearly Meeting. This feeling of separateness deeply affected the peace testimony because of pacifism's theological implications. Secondly, the reaction of Kansas pacifists to this separation will be noted. Thirdly, the various tempos in the work of the Kansas Friends peace committees will be discussed. Lastly, a description of youth activity will be given.

As will be remembered¹ two major reasons were put forth for the original establishment of Kansas Yearly Meeting. It was seen that the Friends in Kansas had become numerous enough to demand their own supervisory organization and distances between Kansas and Indiana were too great. Secondly, evangelical revivalism had swept across Kansas greatly influencing the Friends and causing them to feel dissatisfaction with their former mode of worship. As Kansas Quakers came more and more under the influence of revivalism, they began to look with suspicion

¹For this discussion see Chapter Three.

upon most eastern Quakers and regarded them as not having accepted the purity of "the four-fold Gospel."² Although cooperation and interaction between Kansas Yearly Meeting and the eastern yearly meetings continued for many years after 1872, certain groups of Kansas Quakers began to feel that religious intercourse with eastern meetings should be kept to a minimum.

In 1902 twelve of the fourteen yearly meetings in the United States united under the title of Five Years Meeting of the Society of Friends. Each of the member meetings was to remain independent but would meet every five years for advisory purposes. At the inception of the organization Kansas Yearly Meeting was a part of the membership. As the years passed, deeply evangelical Kansas Friends felt that the Five Years Meeting was becoming too "liberal" in its theology as a result of influence from eastern yearly meetings. To counteract this influence the Permanent Board³ of Kansas Yearly Meeting in 1931 recommended to its constituent meetings that certain resolutions be made to the Five Years Meeting. These resolutions recommended such viewpoints for adoption by the Five Years Meeting as: (1) dedication to Christ and the Church by individuals, (2) aggressive revivalistic-evangelism, and (3) rejection of all arguments for pacifism except those which could be drawn from the Scriptures.⁴ As the member meetings of the Five Years

²For a complete exposition of this viewpoint see Rufus M. Jones, The Later Periods of Quakerism (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1921), pp. 909-940.

³The "Permanent Board" is that body which gives the Yearly Meeting yearly continuity. It takes care of all business between yearly sessions and then makes a report of its activities to the annual meeting.

⁴Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.n., n.p.], 1931), p. 46.

Meeting represented such a diversity of Quakerism it was not surprising that little was accomplished by these recommendations. However, the cool reception only intensified the feeling of the Kansans that membership in such an organization could prove detrimental to their salvation. Their distrust was intensified. The desire for withdrawal from the Five Years Meeting was voiced in ever plainer terms during the next few years.

In 1934 one request from a quarterly meeting was received by the Yearly Meeting asking for termination of membership with the Five Years Meeting.⁵ Two such recommendations were made in 1936⁶ and the movement continued to grow, for in 1937 six quarterly meetings petitioned for withdrawal from the Five Years Meeting.⁷ Differences in doctrine seemed to be the primary reason for such a step.⁸ A. C. Craighead, chairman of the committee on peace of North Branch Monthly Meeting, reported that "We had one special meeting on Peace as understood by Friends. . . . We have been at a loss to reconcile present peace propaganda - social communistic non-Christian aspect with Evangelistic mission of the church [sic]."⁹ The points of agreement with the Five Years Meeting were becoming fewer in number. Now cooperation of the two meetings on the

⁵Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Williamsburg, Kansas: L. B. Dobbs, Printer, 1934), p. 6.

⁶Ibid., 1936, p. 6.

⁷Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Medford, Oklahoma: Medford Printing Co., 1937), pp. 6-7.

⁸Minutes, Op. Cit., 1936, p. 6.

⁹"Minutes," North Branch Monthly Meeting, 7/22/1936, p. 90.

peace testimony was being challenged.¹⁰

The drawing away from other Quaker meetings by Kansas Yearly Meeting was not restricted to the Five Years Meeting. In 1934 a quarterly meeting recommended that

Since the reading of Epistles from other Yearly Meetings has the significance of recognizing them as of like faith with us, we protest against the reading of epistles from the Hicksite [Quakers]. . . . They are no more related to us, Spiritually [sic] than are the regular Unitarian and Universalist Churches, and we are weakening the standard by connections with them. The reading of such epistles is a farce, because we do not, and cannot fellowship with them.¹¹

After that time no epistle of greeting was read in the Yearly Meeting sessions from any Hicksite Quaker group.¹²

This separation from other Quaker groups had an implication for the peace testimony in Kansas, for eastern Quaker theological liberalism also caused suspicion to fall upon their fervent support of pacifism. The "isolationist" segment of Kansas Friends felt that the doctrine of spiritual salvation was the only religious teaching that was

¹⁰From the author's personal contact with many varieties of Quakers, it should be noted that in many areas any argument or reasoning for pacifism which is not strictly based upon Scripture is a "socialistic" or "communistic" argument.

¹¹Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Williamsburg, Kansas: L. B. Dobbs, Printer, 1934), p. 6.

¹²Elias Hicks, a nineteenth century Quaker preacher, reasoned that since there is an "Inner Light" within all men, that Inner Light alone, is sufficient for salvation. His viewpoint was that organized worship and the Scriptures were acceptable for edification only and should not be placed prior nor exclude the Inner Light which emanated from the Holy Spirit. This was essentially a rural movement but resulted in Quakerly schisms in Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Ohio and Indiana Yearly Meetings, which have been termed "Hicksite" groups. Such groups are shunned whenever possible by the revivalistic yearly meetings.

necessary. There were some, however, who felt that the implications of salvation for the society of man were often neglected. This group felt that pacifism was one such implication.

Since advocates of the peace testimony had performed relief work during the First World War, pacifism and relief work had become firmly interwoven. Much of the relief work had been performed under the aegis of eastern Friends, and hence came under the suspicion of the isolationists.

Extreme literal interpretation of the Bible further complicated the role of the peace testimony. Since the Bible said that there would always be rumors of war and war itself, Quaker fundamentalists in Kansas felt that efforts aimed at the abolition and/or alleviation of war were akin to working against the will of God. An illustration of this point may be seen in an incident that occurred in 1925.

In that year, Gurney Hadley, superintendent of the committee on peace of Haviland Quarterly Meeting, reported that he had received a missive from Pleasant Plain Monthly Meeting emphasizing that "Peace can only come as the Prince of Peace is given His rightful place. And we can not hope for world peace until Jesus Christ sets up His throne on earth."¹³

Further, the committees on peace occupied an unusual position among Quaker religious committees. An individual who consumed liquor, for instance, was felt to be endangering his salvation and so committees on temperance were needed. Visitation committees were necessary to

¹³"Minutes," Haviland Quarterly Meeting, 5/9/1925, p. 135.

visit the sick and to encourage the laggards to attend church. Stewardship committees were needed to advise members on the proper distribution of their earthly goods. Education, Bible school and youth committees were entrusted with the task of overseeing the religious education of the young. Most of the other committees of the Society of Friends occupied similar positions. The peace committees, however, stood alone in that they advocated the "fruitage" of the Christian life rather than an "integral" position. The proclamation of the peace testimony was then fine for those who held this viewpoint but was irrelevant for those whose consciences dictated otherwise. To a growing number of Friends in Kansas the importance of adhering to the doctrine of nonresistance seemed of little avail. The total effect of this ever increasing feeling was such that in the Second World War only twenty-five to thirty percent of the Quaker youth from Kansas maintained any kind of testimony against war.¹⁴

Throughout these years, however, there were always exponents of the peace testimony in Kansas, yet the general feeling was such that many of these proponents of pacifism moved to other yearly meetings in which they could feel more harmony with the religious tenor. Errol T. Elliott was such a person. He had been convinced by the First World War that the only possibility for international peace lay in developing some type of "positive peacetime service" rather than simply retaining a subjective withdrawal from participation in fighting during wartime. ". . . if our stand in regard to [war] is sincere and a deep conviction

¹⁴For a full discussion on this subject see Chapter Six.

rather than policy we must still support the cause in time of peace as ## [sic] well as war."¹⁵ As the years progressed this attitude on the part of Elliott separated him more and more from the general feeling of the Yearly Meeting. The estrangement became complete when Kansas Yearly Meeting began to withdraw from other Friends bodies not completely "orthodox" in their theology. Elliott finally moved from the state and accepted employment with the American Friends Service Committee.

Although undoubtedly there were other reasons besides the issue of pacifism, many other prominent advocates of the peace testimony left the Yearly Meeting during these years. Paul George, ex-secretary of the Yearly Meeting Peace Committee went to Russia to help in the relief work of the American Friends Service Committee as that organization sought to dispense food and medical care to the famine sufferers of that country.¹⁶ William L. Pearson, another ex-secretary of the peace committee, had earlier (1922) resigned his post to enter missionary work in Japan.¹⁷ At least two other members of peace committees had gone on to other social service; Stella Frances Jenkins to Japan and Juliet Reeve to England.¹⁸

The adherents of the peace testimony who stayed in Kansas Yearly Meeting realized achievements also. In 1935 plans were made at the annual sessions of the Yearly Meeting to establish an Institute for

¹⁵"Minutes," Fowler Quarterly Meeting, 8/19/1922, p. 282.

¹⁶Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.n., n.p.], 1925), p. 25.

¹⁷Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.n., n.p.], 1922), p. 24.

¹⁸Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.n., n.p.], 1929), p. 9.

International Relations at Bethel College in Newton, Kansas. Such institutes had been held at other points in the United States for several years. Their purpose was to procure leaders in the field of international relations to speak of world conditions and to suggest ways in which intergovernmental and interpeople relations could be improved and harmonized.¹⁹ The first Institute at Bethel College received such acclaim from both Friends and non-Friends that it was decided to retain it on a yearly basis.

Perhaps the most able of the nonresistors who stayed in Kansas was a woman. In 1931 the name of Mrs. Anna Jane Michener was placed on the committee rolls of the Yearly Meeting Peace and Service Committee.²⁰ She was to become the most faithful and forceful of any committeeman ever to serve on the group. By 1932 she had become the secretary of the committee²¹ and by the next year its chairman.²² She remained as the head of the committee for some fifteen years. Mrs. Michener's first report as chairman of the committee stated:

At this critical time we must recognize the strategic importance of Peace to Christians. In so far as Christ's own followers support war or acquiesce in its continuance, our evangelistic and mission programs suffer. Actions speak louder than words and how can we reach the unsaved with the Gospel message if professing Christians do not observe Christ's teaching? Let us deepen our individual experience and the outward expression of our Peace Testimony.²³

¹⁹Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.n., n.p.], 1935), p. 35.

²⁰Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.n., n.p.], 1931), p. 44.

²¹Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.n., n.p.], 1932), p. 11.

²²Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Williamsburg, Kansas: L. B. Dobbs, Printer, 1933), p. 22.

²³Ibid., p. 20.

Mrs. Michener instituted goals for each meeting hoping to increase interest in the peace testimony. The goals included such things as: (1) a meeting in each local church once a quarter on topics related to biblical pacifism, (2) the observance of Good Will Sunday in May and Armistice Day in November as education for peace, (3) a community meeting each year which would discuss such topics as disarmament, war debts, and tariff problems, (4) enlargement of the declamation contests²⁴ for the youth, and (5) an active peace committee in each local and quarterly meeting.²⁵

Under the first year of Mrs. Michener's leadership, the ministers of the Society devoted one hundred and fifty-three sermons and lectures to Biblically based pacifism as contrasted to one hundred and six under her predecessor and but forty in 1928.²⁶ This was accomplished on a budget for the year of \$7.65.²⁷

In 1935 Mrs. Michener continued to speak forcibly on the issue of the peace testimony. Perhaps few of the constituent members of Kansas Yearly Meeting agreed with her but they at least realized that the new chairman of the Peace Committee was not afraid to speak her mind.

²⁴In 1927 declamation contests on the subject of pacifism had been instituted as a method for arousing youth interest in the peace testimony. Local church winners received bronze medals, quarterly meeting winners received silver medals and yearly meeting winners received gold medals. Much interest was thereby generated through the contests and they were continued for many years.

²⁵Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Williamsburg, Kansas: L. B. Dobbs, Printer, 1933), p. 21.

²⁶Ibid. Cf., Yearly Meeting Minutes for 1931, p. 23 and 1928, p. 12.

²⁷Ibid., p. 22.

As a Yearly Meeting we are profoundly devoted to evangelism and missions, the winning of souls to Christ at home and on the foreign field. Even now missionaries in Africa. [sic] Friends Missionaries, find their work hampered by the Italian-Ethiopian War. Race fears and hatreds are fostered. If we as Christians sanction a war, trusting to wholesale slaughter rather than Christ's way of love and the Cross, how can non-Christian people of any land believe that we are truly His followers? We must face the fact that no matter how we explain it to ourselves, that when so-called Christian nations resort to war, they furnish evidence to the non-believer that Christianity is either a weak, futile religion, or a form of hypocrisy. Then, if missions and evangelism are to be most fruitful, Christian people in all lands must return to the faithfulness of the early Church when no Christian was ever a soldier. Peace, missions, and evangelism cannot be separated.²⁸

Following the above report, Mrs. Anna Jane Michener set forth a list of queries for the use of pastors with draft-age men and women. Two of these queries were: "(1) If the U. S. should declare war now would the members of Kansas Yearly Meeting be prepared to follow the way of Christ and refuse to participate in, or sanction it? (2) If war was declared and I was summoned to the colors could I defend my pacifist position?"²⁹

As the "dirty thirties" waned, Mrs. Michener increased the tempo of her pronouncements and became more pointed in her criticism of those Quakers who did not adhere to the peace testimony. In 1937 she wrote: ". . . the darker the future looks in respect to war, the more imperative it is for us to maintain our peace testimony and to give a reason for the faith that is within us."³⁰ The next year she criticized the

²⁸Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.p., n.d.], 1935), pp. 13rd.

²⁹Ibid., p. 14.

³⁰Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Medford, Oklahoma: The Medford Printing Co., 1937), p. 13.

Yearly Meeting with these words:

Why do we ignore or work half heartedly on our peace program? Probably because a large number of us deep in our hearts do not really believe in it. Our doubt comes from a number of sources. Some have no knowledge of how our peace testimony developed nor understanding of its basis. Some reject it because it does not seem to be in harmony with their interpretation of Scripture. Others fear it as a rival to Evangelism and still others as a dangerous departure into worldly activities. On the other hand, some believe that war is a sin against God and that they as good Christians cannot destroy human life nor sanction any institution which destroys human personality in attaining its end. Some believe that we are commanded to work for peace but without any expectation of making conditions better. Others believe that if we have the faith and follow the way of Jesus, it will be possible to develop a Christian society. Probably our failure to make our peace testimony outstanding in our church program is due to our diversity of views, our doubts and fears. . . . It seems that our most urgent need is to examine and test our historical peace testimony, compare our various views with it and decide what our peace testimony shall be.³¹

It must be noted that Mrs. Michener was not atypical in her interest in the peace testimony. There were other individuals throughout the state that were also staunch adherents of pacifism. Yet they were in the minority and their pronouncements were seldom widely accepted. In Kansas there are thirteen quarterly meetings and fifty-four monthly meetings. Of this total, four of the quarterly meetings and some nine or ten of the monthly meetings had strong peace committees during the decades from 1920 to 1940. In the records of the other meetings little or no mention is made concerning the peace testimony so it can be seen that the group within Kansas Yearly Meeting that accepted pacifism was a rather small remnant of the whole.

Let us examine the activities of the peace committees from the

³¹minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Medford, Oklahoma: The Medford Printing Company, 1938), pp. 13-14.

end of the First World War to the beginning of the Second World War. At times the import of their actions were of consequence; more often they were not. Perhaps as an aftermath of World War I, Kansas Yearly Meeting continued to work for peace at a rapid pace for some years. In April of 1919 the Quakers joined with the Wichita, Kansas, ministerial association to defeat by a small majority the introduction of military training into Wichita High School. Two months previously, letters of petition had been sent by many Kansas Quakers to Washington urging senators and representatives to prevent the passage of any law promoting compulsory military training.³²

Three ex-reconstruction workers in France, Herbert Baker of Tonganoxie, Charles Moon of Wichita and Von Amick of Haviland, spoke to the 1919 Yearly Meeting of their overseas experiences.³³ It will be remembered that Von Amick had undergone considerable difficulty in securing permission to leave the country because his shortening of "Vaughn" to "Von" was thought to have German overtones. He had been cautioned by Rufus M. Jones and others to henceforth sign his name V. D. Amick. It would appear from the 1919 Minutes that Mr. Amick reverted to the earlier spelling of his name as soon as possible.

A letter was prepared by the Yearly Meeting for Newton D. Baker, the Secretary of War. It read in part:

Kansas Yearly Meeting . . . has been deeply concerned on behalf

³²Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Wichita: The Eagle Press, 1919), p. 10.

³³Ibid., p. 15.

of those conscientious objectors to all war, who are members of Christian sects which forbid all military service and [who have been imprisoned], as also on behalf of those soldiers and sailors who have been . . . court-martialed and sentenced. . . . Some of both these classes, we are credibly informed, are being cruelly treated by officials having them in charge.

Since there never was any reason or sense in the cruel treatment of prisoners, and since there can no longer be any excuse for it, now the war is over . . . in all fairness and justice, all such prisoners whose offenses would not constitute a crime or felony in civil courts should be promptly released.³⁴

The Yearly Meeting Minutes also noted that \$28,977.83 had been given for relief work to the American Friends Service Committee.³⁵

The resolutions and petitions against compulsory military training continued into 1920 from the three most active quarterly meetings: Fowler, Haviland and Wichita. These meetings registered their protest on such matters time and again.³⁶ Haviland Quarterly Meeting not only advocated adherence to the peace testimony in theory, it attempted to meet the needs of suffering peoples in Europe. In 1920 the meeting collected \$1,594.75 for Armenian relief work. No other contributions for such work were made in the Yearly Meeting.³⁷

The sessions of the Yearly Meeting in October of 1920 continued to lay stress upon work designed to allay the causes of war before they

³⁴Ibid., p. 52.

³⁵Ibid., p. 14.

³⁶"Minutes," Fowler Quarterly Meeting, 2/21/1920, p. 243. Cf., "Minutes," Haviland Quarterly Meeting, 9/11/1920, p. 61, and "Minutes," Wichita Quarterly Meeting, 9/4/1920, p. 130.

³⁷Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Wichita: The Lassen Printery, 1920), p. 55.

could swell into armed conflicts. An open letter to all candidates for United States congressional office stated that the Quakers believed "that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with safety."³⁸ Therefore, the Friends desired all candidates for federal office to state their views on compulsory military training, a large standing army and on the contemporary difficulties with Mexico.³⁹ The report of the Peace Committee ended with this thought: "The 'War to End War' has not ended the war spirit. The war interests are more alert than ever. . . . It is no time for us to sleep."⁴⁰

By 1921, however, the peace committees of the Yearly Meeting had begun to subside into quietude. No monthly meeting made mention of the peace testimony and but one quarterly meeting, Wichita, pursued it to any extent. R. Byron Michener, made the 1921 report for Wichita Quarterly Meeting. Mr. Michener had begun in January to edit, publish and distribute a monthly newsletter containing items of interest concerning "Peace, war and Armament situation."⁴¹ He further reported that a Wichita Quaker was chairman of the Committee of International Justice and Goodwill of the Wichita Federation of Churches and also chairman of

³⁸This statement is taken from Article VIII of the Covenant of the League of Nations and was quoted in the Kansas Yearly Meeting Minutes for 1920.

³⁹Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Wichita: The Lassen Printery, 1920), p. 49.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 55.

⁴¹"Minutes," Wichita Quarterly Meeting, 9/3/1921, p. 154.

the Executive Board on Peace and Militarism which represented the Friends, Mennonite and Brethren denominations.⁴² It would thus seem that even in view of the flagging interest in the peace committees, there were individuals in the state who were dedicated to teaching the peace testimony and working on its behalf.

The Yearly Meeting of 1921 sent letters of thanks to Congressman W. A. Ayres and R. E. Bird for the position taken by them with regard to militarism. A similar note was sent to Senator Arthur Capper.⁴³ One statement included in the Yearly Meeting records for 1921 is prophetic of viewpoints voiced thirty-five years later: "Unless man can learn how to make the proper use of his new knowledge he is likely to destroy himself. Science has endowed man with the power of a superman; but his mind remains human . . ."⁴⁴

Near the 1921 Yearly Meeting, an incident occurred in Wichita that demonstrated the good will held for others by the Friends even when they were endangered. Jefferson Dixon, an elder of the North Wichita Monthly Meeting, was held up at gunpoint one evening on his way home from church. Speaking kindly to the thief, Dixon informed him that he had no money but did have a New Testament which he would like for the man to study. Without waiting for the thug to collect his wits, Dixon handed the Bible to him and proceeded on his way home. The

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Wichita: The Lassen Printery, 1921), pp. 34-35.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 35.

thief did not offer to harm Dixon in any way.⁴⁵

During 1922 Edwin P. Haworth of Kansas City Monthly Meeting reported that the church had collected \$151.45 for relief work among the famine sufferers of Russia.⁴⁶

That same year a voice was raised against the declining support of the peace testimony:

Because of the interest the world at large has in abolishing war for financial and other expedient material reasons, there seems to be a tendency among Friends to let up on their Peace Testimony, but the world still needs the Friends Peace Testimony as to the unrighteousness and wickedness of war under all circumstances and Friends should re-affirm it upon all occasions possible.⁴⁷

In 1922 a conference on international naval disarmament was held in Washington, D. C. Charles Evans Hughes was chairman of the American delegation. Fowler Quarterly Meeting, under the guidance of the chairman of the peace committee, Errol T. Elliott (whom we have already discussed earlier in this chapter), sent a telegram to Mr. Hughes expressing their confidence that the American delegation would work with all due devotion to limiting and reducing international armaments.⁴⁸

Reports of the Yearly Meeting Peace Committee for 1923 and 1924 are inconsequential. In 1923 all members were asked to write their

⁴⁵This information is taken from a typed, mimeographed, five page pamphlet entitled A Concern That Bore Fruit. No author nor year of printing is given. The pamphlet is devoted to a narrative of the history of North Wichita Monthly Meeting and may be found in the Yearly Meeting safety vault in Wichita, Kansas.

⁴⁶"minutes," Kansas City Monthly Meeting, 3/6/1922, p. 206.

⁴⁷"minutes," Wichita Quarterly Meeting, 9/2/1922, p. 172.

⁴⁸"minutes," Fowler Quarterly Meeting, 8/19/1922, p. 282.

Washington representatives urging the entry of the United States into the World Court. It is also recorded that monies were raised for the Japanese relief fund and that "No War Day" and "Law--Not War Day" had been observed.⁴⁹ The only action of note in 1924 was the continuation of petitions to Congress on the issue of American entry into the World Court.⁵⁰

The inactivity of the peace committees continued into 1925. The only achievement in that year was the merger of the peace committees and the service committees into the peace and service committee.⁵¹ This combination of the twin brothers of peace and service heightened the feeling of the "isolationists" that pacifism was ill-suited to a revivalistic theology, even though it hinged closely upon the "works" which the Apostle James had so roundly commended.

The lethargy toward the doctrine of pacifism continued. During 1927 the state committee on peace and service contented itself with sending postal cards to all local committeemen urging that Armistice Day be so conducted as to emphasize peace rather than war. Adult study materials were also sent to the local churches.⁵²

However, on February 11, 1927, Haviland Quarterly Meeting sent a resolution to Secretary of State Kellogg asking that the United States use its influence in order to create an atmosphere of harmony so that

⁴⁹Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.n., n.p.], 1923), p. 16.

⁵⁰Ibid., 1924, p. 30.

⁵¹Ibid., 1925, p. 25.

⁵²Ibid., 1927, p. 11.

internal affairs in Mexico and Nicaragua might be straightened out.⁵³

During 1928 the Congressional Committee on Naval Affairs sponsored a bill which would materially increase the total tonnage of the Navy. Shortly before Congress was to act on the bill, North Branch Monthly Meeting⁵⁴ and Haviland Quarterly Meeting⁵⁵ sent resolutions, letters and telegrams to influential federal officers and representatives asking that this measure be defeated. The Haviland resolution read in part:

. . . we feel that it will be a sad mistake to make such an expenditure as proposed. We cannot see how such a program can do other than arouse the suspicions of other Nations causing a return to increased armament when every here the conviction is deepening that Armament should be decreased.⁵⁶

The Yearly Meeting had this to say about international relationships:

The United States has held aloof from the League of Nations, which has done a grand work, and now--possibly to atone for this aloofness--our Secretary of State has championed the proposal of M. Briand of France for a treaty outlawing war, has made it multilateral, and secured the signatures of the leading nations of the world.⁵⁷

In this too, the Quakers were destined to be disappointed, for in later years the Kellogg-Briand concept would be quietly forgotten in favor of more realistic international policies by the great nations of

⁵³"Minutes," Haviland Quarterly Meeting, 2/11/1927, p. 155.

⁵⁴"Minutes," North Branch Monthly Meeting, 2/5/1928, p. 114.

⁵⁵"Minutes," Haviland Quarterly Meeting, 2/11/1928, p. 167.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([p.n., n.p.], 1928), p. 13.

the world and a second world war would occur. Yet the "dishard" pacifists of the Kansas Friends continued to work toward the realization of their goals. Throughout 1929 the Peace and Service Committee of the Yearly Meeting continued to stress the writing of individual letters by members of the Society to Washington officials decrying the building of a larger Navy and advocating the entry of the United States into the World Court.⁵⁸

Haviland Quarterly Meeting complained in 1930 that "we are still paying out 90 cents on the dollar for past wars and preparations for future wars."⁵⁹ Henry W. Landreth, superintendent of the peace committee, reported to a business session of the meeting that "we have outlawed war but we are still making implements of war, which destroys confidence in us."⁶⁰

The Yearly Meeting (1931) reported that one hundred and fifty-six sermons and lectures were devoted to the topic of pacifism during the year past. The usual letters and petitions to Washington officials were also noted.⁶¹

One of the strongest peace and service committees was that of North Branch Monthly Meeting. In 1932 it sent a large number of communications to federal officials expressing the Quaker position on war. A missive was also sent to Geneva, Switzerland during the meetings of

⁵⁸Ibid., 1929, p. 9.

⁵⁹"Minutes," Haviland Quarterly Meeting, 9/13/1930, p. 212.

⁶⁰Ibid., 6/30/1931, p. 236.

⁶¹Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.p., n.d.], 1931), p. 23.

the Disarmament Conference held there.⁶²

With the beginning of the nineteen thirties, interest in the peace testimony began to reappear. The handwriting on the wall of the world could be discerned. Japan attacked China, Germany came under the sway of Adolf Hitler and Italy under Il Duce began to make menacing motions in the direction of Africa. Those Quaker meetings in Kansas which were influenced by the peace testimony increased their efforts of reconciliation. Yet the total number of interested meetings was not appreciably enlarged.

Marva Jackson, the chairman of the committee on peace at Haviland Quarterly Meeting, reported that the committee had "emphasized the necessity of carrying the peace message along with Evangelism . . . so far as we have been able."⁶³ On December 8, 1934, North Wichita Monthly Meeting reported that active work had been started by the peace committee toward the passage of corrective state legislation which would allow conscientious objectors attending school at Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas, to be exempted from Reserve Officer Training Corps courses.⁶⁴ Frank Davies, General Superintendent of Kansas Yearly Meeting, wrote in that year:

We would ask Kansas Yearly Meeting to pay more attention to the grounding and settling of our youth in the doctrines of our church, feeling that this is being sadly neglected. What is to become of the Peace testimony, and many other cardinal

⁶²"Minutes," North Branch Monthly Meeting, 7/28/1932, p. 198.

⁶³"Minutes," Haviland Quarterly Meeting, 6/10/1933, p. 287.

⁶⁴"Minutes," North Wichita Monthly Meeting, 12/8/1934, p. 309.

doctrines if we fail to make sure that our young people believe thoroughly in them.⁶⁵

In 1935 some conjecture arose within the United States that this country might declare war against Italy because of Mussolini's actions against the Ethiopians. Mount Ayre Quarterly Meeting, alarmed at such prospects, sent a communication to President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull asking them to use all their influence to have the issue settled peacefully.⁶⁶ Anna Jane Michener, in her report to the Yearly Meeting, also noted the possibility of war and used it as the basis of her appeal to members of the Yearly Meeting, to "Choose ye this day when ye will serve."⁶⁷ That year a committee of six were appointed by

⁶⁵minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Williamsburg, Kansas: L. B. Dotts, Printer, 1934), p. 4. Cf., p. 35. Frank Davies had recently been confronted with civil difficulties because of his pacifism. He had been born in England and had emigrated to Kansas in the late nineteen twenties. Although Mr. Davies desired to become an American citizen he could not, in conscience, take that portion of the required oath necessitating his "under any and all circumstances, without any regard to right or wrong . . . to [promise] to fight in any war." Kansas Yearly Meeting petitioned Congress on his behalf in 1933 and contrasted his plight with a recently publicized incident concerning a citizen of southern Asia who had incorrectly filled out his citizenship papers and who freely admitted that he had been in trouble with the law. Notwithstanding, he was freely given citizenship. The Kansas Quakers did not believe that Frank Davies, a "minister of the gospel," should have been so refused when he was a product of "generations of English ancestors . . . and [had] a wholesome regard for the Anglo-Saxon system of government . . ." while the oriental with a background so contrasted to the American way of life was so easily admitted. It seems that in a previous Supreme Court trial, Justices Holmes, Brandeis, and Stone had so construed the decision in their minority opinion as to admit conscientious objectors to citizenship without necessitating them to take the oath which would bind them to serve in the armed forces in wartime. The Quaker records give no hint as to the final outcome of the Davies case.

⁶⁶minutes, "Mount Ayre Quarterly Meeting, 8/17/1935, p. 30.

⁶⁷minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([a.n., n.p.], 1935), p. 13.

The Yearly Meeting to attend a Conference of Peace Churches which would be held at Newton, Kansas. This conference set forth a statement of pacifist patriotism which was read into the 1936 Minutes of the Yearly Meeting. A portion of that statement declared:

The members of the Historic Peace Churches love this country and sincerely work for its highest welfare. True love for our country does not mean a hatred of others. It is our conviction that only the application of the principles of peace, love, justice, liberty, and international goodwill, will make for the highest welfare of our country; and that the highest welfare of our country must harmonize with the highest welfare of humanity everywhere. Our faith is security through love, protection through goodwill; and for such we are willing to make the necessary sacrifice. We are opposed to war as a method of settling disputes because it is unchristian, destructive of our highest values and sows the seeds of future wars. We feel that we are true patriots because we build upon the eternal principles of right which are the only foundation for stable government in our world community.⁶⁸

This statement was timely. The seeds of war were plain to all who would see. Hitler had absorbed the Saar, the Anschluss with Austria was complete, threatening moves were being made in the direction of Czechoslovakia. Mussolini had attacked and conquered Ethiopia and was claiming that a great colonial empire would be carved out by the people of Italy. Japan had absorbed Manchuria and attacked the Chinese. The years of peace would all too soon end for America.

On December 10, 1936, assembled at Pleasant Plain, Kansas, Haviland Quarterly Meeting authorized its clerk to communicate with Kansas Senators Copper and Reed and Fifth District Representative Hope and present the following petition to them.

As residents of your Congressional district, we request that

⁶⁸Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Williamsburg, Kansas: L. B. Dobbs, Printer, 1936), p. 54.

you actively work for the passage of J. J. R. No 89 providing for an Amendment to the U. S. Constitution granting to the people, by referendum, the sole power to declare war, or to engage in war on foreign soil. We request you to vote affirmatively whenever this resolution is before [you].⁶⁹

That a war would once again engulf America was obvious to many thinking people. In this chapter the conflicting attitudes toward the peace testimony have been discussed as well as the effect of these differences on the peace committees. There now remains but one area to discuss: the role played by the young people of the Society of Friends in Kansas from 1920 to 1939. Indications of their activity in the Society records are few; those that are included are often inconsequential, yet perhaps their review may give a hint of their general preparation for the Second World War.

In 1924, Wichita Quarterly Meeting had reported that several youth organizations of the city had made plans to refuse to have part in war or preparation for war.⁷⁰ During 1926 the parochial students at the North Branch Friends Academy were given a few sermons and lectures on nonresistance and the students put up five large "peace posters" in such locations as the post-office, the church and the public schoolhouses at a cost of seventy-five cents.⁷¹ Although such actions were insignificant, the Friends Haviland Academy at Haviland, Kansas, makes no mention of any interest in the doctrine of Quakerly nonresistance.

⁶⁹"Minutes," Haviland Quarterly Meeting, 12/10/1938, p. 419.

⁷⁰"Minutes," Wichita Quarterly Meeting, 9/13/1924, p. 204.

⁷¹"Minutes," North Branch Monthly Meeting, 6/24/1926, p. 81.

In an effort to increase youth interest, the Yearly Meeting began sponsoring declamation contests on pacifism in 1927.⁷² By 1929 interested students from Friends University in Wichita, Kansas, began touring the surrounding towns to speak on the religious, social, economic and philosophical aspects of nonresistance.⁷³ This activity was continued until late in the nineteen thirties. Among the Quaker educational institutions of Kansas, Friends University was one of the most prominent in providing the necessary advice from interested faculty members which would confirm doubtful youths in the tenets of the Society.⁷⁴

At North Branch Friends Academy, the valedictorian of the senior class of 1933 devoted his address to the militarism of the day and advocated that he and his classmates work toward the establishment of peace during their adult life.⁷⁵

From 1933 until 1939 no mention of youth activity is given in Quaker records. In October of 1929, H. H. Townsend had stated that "soon a new generation will be at the throttle who will not realize the horrors of war. . . . The great movements for Peace should be buttressed by the inculcation of Peace Principles in the minds of the young."⁷⁶

⁷²Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.n., n.p.], 1927), p. 11.

⁷³Ibid., 1929, p. 9.

⁷⁴Personal interviews of the author with Warren Riner and Keith Parker, Wichita, Kansas, August 6, 1958.

⁷⁵"Minutes," North Branch Monthly Meeting, 7/19/1933, II, p. 18.

⁷⁶Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting ([n.n., n.p.], 1929), p. 9.

Only the years of the Second World War would supply the answer as to whether the teaching of the youth had been sufficient with regard to the peace testimony.

The Yearly Meeting for 1939 closed its sessions with the solemn words of Frank C. Brown:

The sixty-eighth session of Kansas Yearly Meeting met under the cloud of a second world war. Fear of what lies ahead of us and concern for suffering peoples mingled together as an undercurrent of our thought. . . . Sobered with a sense of our responsibility . . . we adjourn to convene, if the Lord will, in Wichita, Kansas, October 8, 1940.⁷⁷

⁷⁷Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Wichita: Day's Print Shop, 1939), p. 60.

CHAPTER VI

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

On December 7, 1941, the peoples of the United States were awakened from their Sunday afternoon lethargy to find that several hours earlier a Japanese air strike had been made against the American naval base of Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands. After a twenty-three year period of peace the United States once more found itself at war. Shortly after the Pearl Harbor debacle, Congress declared war against Japan, Germany, Italy and the other Axis countries.

Mobilization of the nation for the armed services and industry was intensified to a height never before achieved. The conscientious objector was once more faced with the necessity of taking an unpopular stand for the sake of conscience. What provisions had been made for him by the Federal Government?

The politicians of Washington had feared involvement in another war as early as 1939. Plans were made to prepare the nation for action if such fears were borne out by actuality. The Selective Training and Service Act was approved and became effective on September 16, 1940.¹ In this law, the provisions for conscientious objectors were similar to those required by the draft law of 1917 except that membership in a pacifist church, and indeed church membership, was eliminated entirely.² This was qualified, however, by making exemption from military service

¹Lt. Col. Neal M. Wherry, Conscientious Objection (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 67.

²Ibid., p. 68.

apply only to a person "who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form."³

It was first proposed that all such persons making claim to exemption be listed on a special register by their draft boards. Their claims would then be investigated by the Justice Department. The recommendations of the Federal Bureau of Investigation would then be used by the local draft board as the basis for classification of the individual. If the objector felt that he had not received his due classification, the regular channels of appeal would be open to him. This procedure was, however, simplified before being written into law so that the first classification would be made by the draft board and the Justice Department would be used for investigation and recommendation only if the registrant appealed.⁴

Another important portion of the Selective Training and Service Act was the assignment of conscientious objectors to civilian work of national importance in lieu of service in a noncombatant capacity within the armed forces provided that duty in the military was completely unacceptable to such nonresisters.⁵ This policy was incorporated in the draft act, not from any great desire to cater to the wishes of the objectors, but rather to get the greatest service possible from them rather than to fill the federal prisons with pacifists at great expense of time and monies as the alternative. Such work of national importance would be under the direction of civilian authority and any offense under this system would be tried in the federal courts rather than by military

³Ibid., p. 68.

⁴Ibid., p. 68.

⁵Ibid., p. 69.

court-martial law as was usually the case during World War I.⁶ Thus several differences manifested themselves between the draft act of 1940 and the draft act of 1917. First there was a broader definition of conscientious objection. The 1917 law required membership in a sect forbidding participation in war while the 1940 law required only a pacifism based on religious tenets. Secondly, the registrant could make an appeal from the classification given him by his local board which did not sustain his claim to exemption from combatant or noncombatant service. The draft law of the First World War contained no such provision. Thirdly, the objector could perform work of national importance under civilian authority. All work of pacifists in World War I had been under the supervision of the military. Fourthly, violations of the draft law by objectors would be tried in federal courts rather than by courts-martial.⁷ It is a possible sign of the careful development of these regulations that there were no significant changes in the draft act during the six and one-half years of its existence.

The Mennonites, Brethren and Friends had been active in testifying before the House and Senate committees concerned with draft legislation. These groups had indicated their desire to administer certain work camps for the objectors. The lawmakers, however, felt that too much confusion would result from separate agreements between the federal government and many churches. With this in mind, it was agreed that a representative body be formed as a clearing house to deal with Selective Service on problems as they arose. This organization was

⁶Ibid., p. 69.

⁷Ibid., pp. 89-90.

named the National Council for Religious Conscientious Objectors but later changed its name to the National Service Board for Religious Objectors. At first this agency represented only the Friends, Mennonites and the Brethren but as it continued to function throughout the war, it came to represent nearly all churches with a statement of doctrine recognizing the pacifist position.⁸

The program of Selective Service which channeled conscientious objectors into work of national importance came to be known as the Civilian Public Service program and was most often referred to simply as "CPS." In the original stages of the program, Civilian Public Service was used as a continuation of the Civilian Conservation Corps projects as they had been in existence for several years and were generally accepted by the public at large as of "national importance."⁹

The first group of pacifists were detailed into the work program at Patapsco, Maryland on May 15, 1941. "More than one was surprised not to find the barbed wire and guards of the concentration camp which his imagination had led him to expect."¹⁰ By 1942 it was decided by the national headquarters of Selective Service that the work camps would not be satisfactory for all types of objectors as some had not the stamina and physique to withstand the hard labor. Accordingly they were assigned to general, tubercular and mental hospitals for available duties. Soon so many requests for their assistance began to come in from hospitals that it was necessary to limit their assignments to hospitals which handled only mental cases, such as state mental and

⁸Ibid., pp. 159-160.

⁹Ibid., p. 161.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 165.

certain veterans hospitals.¹¹

As will be remembered,¹² certain objectors had been furloughed from military service for farm work during World War I. With this as a precedent, a similar plan was developed for use in conjunction with Civilian Public Service. As the farm labor shortage became acute, objectors were used to partially alleviate the situation. An individual pacifist could be assigned (1) to a farm no more than fifteen miles from a CPS camp if no other labor was available, (2) to a dairy farm in any locality if a shortage of labor prevailed, (3) to any state where the dairy testing program was in danger of collapsing because of lack of testers, and (4) to a unit at an experiment station or an agricultural college.¹³

On a strict voluntary basis, conscientious objectors could also be assigned to medical experimentation units and many did so volunteer. They felt that in this way it could be demonstrated that their stand was not taken from fear and that they were not afraid to undertake any program designed to save life or improve health.¹⁴ Conscientious objectors were used as experimental subjects in tests involving cold, heat, starvation, dysentery, et al.

Quite early in the war President Roosevelt gave the American Friends Service Committee permission to send a group of CPS men to

¹¹Ibid., pp. 168-169.

¹²See Chapter Four.

¹³Wherry, Op. Cit., pp. 169-170.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 170-171.

China. The approximately sixty men of the unit were trained on the campus of Guilford College, North Carolina, which was designated CPS Camp #99 (China Unit). While in the Orient, the men of the unit worked on a program of medical relief, sanitation and public health for the Ministry of Public Health, the Republic of China.¹⁵ Herbert Motter Hadley of North Branch Monthly Meeting went into Civilian Public Service in 1942 and was stationed at Camp Coshocton, Fresno, Ohio before being assigned to the China Unit. By July of 1943 Hadley was stationed in CPS Camp #22, Chungking, China.¹⁶ At least one other Kansas Friend, Warren Riner, was assigned to the Guilford campus for training prior to shipment to China, but he was reassigned before overseas processing was completed.¹⁷ The program collapsed when certain congressmen felt that conscientious objectors were not representative of the American peoples and should not be allowed overseas service which might thus portray them. It was also felt that such service might give pacifists an opportunity to spread their propaganda and thus undermine the war effort.¹⁸ Through the influence of these federal officials a rider was attached to the appropriation bill of June 30, 1944¹⁹ which forced the return of the China Unit to this country by withdrawing financial support from it and forbidding public monies to be used for such a support in the

¹⁵American Friends Service Committee Newsletter, 3/15/1943.

¹⁶Financial Records of Kansas Yearly Meeting Civilian Public Service Committee, 7/31/1943.

¹⁷Personal interview of the author with Warren Riner, Wichita, Kansas, 8/6/1958.

¹⁸Wherry, Conscientious Objection, pp. 174-175.

¹⁹Public Law No. 108, 78th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington: 1944), p. 4.

future.²⁰

There were one hundred and fifty-one Civilian Public Service camps in all, of which the federal government operated eight. Of the camps run by religious agencies, directors were appointed to supervise the "camp life" of the units while work on the assigned projects was conducted by superintendents appointed by the federal government.²¹

The Civilian Public Service program has often been criticized for the various types of misconduct performed by conscientious objectors under its auspices during the war. Yet the program, on the whole, was very successful. Out of the fifty thousand men classified as conscientious objectors of all types, only five to six hundred were discharged because of delinquency and misconduct, fixing the percentage at .012.²² This small group, however, did its best to discredit and ruin the entire program. These "men 'gainst the State" as they termed themselves, destroyed foodstuffs, ruined truck tires, brought liquor into camp, broke windows, damaged electric generators and truck engines, burned buildings, refused to keep themselves clean, displayed Japanese and German flags, refused orders, acted with insubordination, slowed work projects to a standstill, ruined the work of more law-abiding objectors and generally made vicious examples of themselves.²³ Of this group of five to six hundred, however, only forty-two were Quakers and

²⁰Wherry, Op. Cit., pp. 174-175.

²¹Ibid., p. 179.

²²Ibid., pp. 229-230.

²³Ibid., p. 233.

none are believed to have been Kansans.²⁴

On the other hand, the great majority of the objectors in the Civilian Public Service program performed much valuable work. They worked in our national forests seeding burned over areas, maintaining and constructing roads and fire trails, manning fire towers and communication lines, taking timber surveys and conducting actual fire fighting when the need arose. The technique of "smoke-jumping"²⁵ was developed by these men. In farming areas CPS men provided emergency farm help when other labor for the production of essential crops was unavailable, constructed roads and farm buildings, leveled and cleared land, performed erosion control and water conservation, developed pure strains of seed, irrigated thousands of acres of dry land as a result of the construction of a large number of earthen dams, surveyed and mapped land areas, continued the dairy testing program in some areas, continued certain agricultural programs at experiment stations. In the swampy areas of the southern United States the conscientious objectors performed malaria and hookworm control, screened houses and constructed sanitary privies, reclaimed and built drainage canals and developed and maintained wildlife refuges. In Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, medical, surgical, hospital, ambulance, dietetic and welfare service was provided for peoples who had previously been without such services. In addition, CPS workers were used in hospitals to care for the insane and submitted themselves to investigation and experimentation of diet,

²⁴Ibid., p. 326.

²⁵For a definition of this term see Appendix A of this thesis.

nutrition, climate, altitude and certain diseases. They also worked in survey and map work for the Coast and Geodetic Survey of the Department of Commerce and plotted and compiled past weather reports for the Weather Bureau of the Department of Commerce.

A total of 5,931,632 man-days of work was thus provided by the conscientious objectors during the war. For this work these men received no pay other than an eight cents per diem allowance from the church group to which they belonged. Nor did the CPS men receive any routine allowances available to members of the armed forces. It has been estimated that this service cost the church groups and the federal government a total of \$1.48 per man-day.²⁶

How did Kansas Quakers fit into this system of Civilian Public Service? By 1939 they had begun to actively seek a method for coping with the problems which would face their youth. In that year Mount Ayre Quarterly Meeting had prepared a statement for their youth to sign designating the Quaker position on war

which will be an evidence, to convince authorities their convictions on peace are definitely founded and are not brought upon short notice (as it were) should our nation become engaged in war and our young people be called to take up arms.²⁷

Ruth W. Dillon, chairman of North Branch Monthly Meeting committee on peace asked "a few Friends in each meeting to make a careful study of the subject and act as counselors and helpers to our young men who wish to take the conscientious objectors stand."²⁸ Barclay

²⁶Wherry, Conscientious Objection, pp. 209-227.

²⁷"Minutes," Mount Ayre Quarterly Meeting, 11/18/1939, p. 62.

²⁸"Minutes," North Branch Monthly Meeting, 7/24/1940, p. 191.

Monthly Meeting had a number of cards printed entitled "My Purpose Concerning War." The youth of the church signed these pledges before witnesses and thus provided themselves with a recognized protest against participation in war. These witnessed pledges better enabled them to substantiate their claim for exemption with their local draft board.²⁹ Between August 28, 1940 and April 21, 1941, William Daryl Fleming, Russell Keith Bishop, Gale Newell, Edwin W. Foose, Chester Lewis and Howard L. Rowland of Barclay Monthly Meeting signed these pledges.³⁰

At the 1940 Yearly Meeting, Cecil Hinshaw spoke on the coming problems which would face pacifists and urged each local meeting to

²⁹"Minutes," Barclay Monthly Meeting, 8/28/1940, p. 277. The text of this pledge read as follows:

I have quietly considered what I should do if my nation should again be drawn into war. I BELIEVE WAR TO BE: the ultimate denial of all that Jesus Christ lived and died for; an almost limitless breeder of physical, moral and spiritual deterioration; disloyalty to the best interests of my country; and treason against the human family, which is above all nations. Because I believe these things to be true, and because I believe that policies of goodwill and justice offer greater security than war ever can, Therefore I set down my name to make concrete my present purpose not to assist voluntarily in the prosecution of any war of any nature or origin, by direct or indirect [the last two words are often struck out by the signer] means. In thus renouncing war, I believe myself to be serving God and my country.

I desire that my name be kept in the records of this church, so that it will be a reminder to me if war should come, and a solemn declaration to others who hold to this decision in time of war that I believe them right; and I do desire with my whole heart and mind that I shall be among those who keep to this decision.

(signature)

(date)

³⁰Ibid., pp. 279-292.

confront its youth with the peace testimony and help them to adhere to the traditional Quaker position.³¹ When Anna Jane Michener gave her report to the meeting she noted that seventeen young Friends of one quarterly meeting had signified in writing that they would not support the war. She also mentioned that the number of sermons on peace was the greatest ever reported. Mrs. Michener summarized the difficulties which the Friends would face in the coming war:

Is our Christianity for this world as well as for the next? Do we see the conflict between the teachings of Jesus and the whole idea underlying conscription? Are we aware that the conscientious objectors of former wars who suffered imprisonment and persecution have by their heroic loyalty to God won for us today the recognition of the rights of the conscientious objector so that we may without loss of standing ask for that classification? But are we to take and give nothing? The demands of society upon the conscientious objector are as great as or greater than upon those who fight. We must live constantly in the 'spirit that takes away the occasion for war.' We must make a comparable sacrifice to that made by the soldier. . . . We must see that we find positive ways to meet the spiritual and material needs of our fellowmen.³²

The General Superintendent of the Yearly Meeting asked that "in view of military hysteria evidenced by the world . . . may we become an oasis of love and peace, and under the leadership of our Savior be in truth a Society of Friends."³³

A statement from the report of the Peace and Service Committee to the Yearly Meeting in 1938 was reprinted in tract form.

³¹Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Medford, Oklahoma: The Medford Printing Co., 1940), p. 15.

³²Ibid., p. 16.

³³Ibid., p. 24.

Facing today a warring world, a world craving peace but unwilling to pay the price of peace; a world deploring war, but using it. [sic] We, the Friends of Kansas Yearly Meeting feel constrained to re-affirm our conviction that the way of Jesus Christ is the only hope of the world. . . . We believe that war is a sin against God and man and that no lasting solution of issues can be secured by its use.

We believe that the way of the Cross is more powerful than the way of the Sword. We believe that love is the highest law of life and that evil can be overcome by good . . .³⁴

In a mimeographed letter to absentee church members, Robert E. Cope, pastor of the University Friends Church, Wichita, Kansas, described the increasing tension of the times as it related to the historic Quaker position on peace. He asked all those with problems caused by the nearness of war to contact him for counsel.³⁵ The following day, Mr. Cope received a letter from Nancy Downs of Plainview, Texas, in response to an earlier letter. The eighty-four year old woman wrote: "Yes the war is a serious proposition. I don't believe in killing our fellow man either. Do you think this is the last war before Jesus comes?"³⁶

The year of 1940 passed away and the new year began. In 1941 Stafford Monthly Meeting displayed a lackadaisical attitude toward the Civilian Public Service program. When the question "What is the attitude of your meeting toward the selectees under the Selective Service Law—the conscientious objector?" the answer was simply: "It's a law

³⁴"Peace Statement of Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends." This tract is located in the Yearly Meeting safety vault.

³⁵Letter, Robert Cope, pastor, to absentee members of University Friends Church, Wichita, Kansas, 6/25/1940.

³⁶Letter, Nancy Downs, Plainview, Texas, to Robert Cope, 6/26/1940.

& we have to observe it."³⁷

On July 10th of 1941, Arthur J. Chance of Wichita Quarterly Meeting became one of the first Quaker youth from Kansas to take part in Civilian Public Service. After serving at Merom, Indiana and Coleville, California, Chance was transferred to Concord, New Hampshire. While in Concord, Arthur decided to leave CPS and enter the Army. In September of 1943 he transferred to the Army Postal Service.³⁸

In July of 1941, Barclay Monthly Meeting was "authentically" informed that "certain leaders of the Society of Friends, refused the offer of the Government to support Conscientious Objectors in Civilian Camp service . . . we feel we cannot contribute to financial support of individuals in Civilian Public Service Camps."³⁹ The reason for the rejection of government support was that the pacifists in the CPS camps felt that their position would be more tenable and more of a "witness" if they did not ask for government support. When the Civilian Public Service program had been inaugurated, the religious agencies had thus been given the responsibility of providing for the maintenance of the objectors assigned to the work camps. As Kansas Quakers began to enter the program it became imperative that funds be raised for their support. Maintenance for each man in camp was approximately thirty-five dollars per month. Primary responsibility for an individual's support was to

³⁷"Minutes," Stafford Monthly Meeting, 1941, p. 193.

³⁸Telephone interview of the author with Arthur J. Chance, Wichita, Kansas, 8/5/1958. Cf., the financial records of Kansas Yearly Meeting Civilian Public Service Committee for October of 1943, located in the safety vault.

³⁹"Minutes," Barclay Monthly Meeting, 7/23/1941, p. 1.

rest upon himself, next upon his family and then upon the local church of his community. If their combined resources were unable to raise the money, application could be made to the Yearly Meeting Civilian Public Service Committee which would then undertake support payments.⁴⁰

Anna Jane Michener asked members of the Yearly Meeting to support CPS in lieu of buying defense bonds.⁴¹ Special pledge cards, bond certificates and stamps were provided for this cause by the American Friends Service Committee. After this program had been in operation for some time, Evan Griffith, state administrator of the War Savings Staff, United States Treasury Department, wrote Mrs. Michener that such support was a "valuable and patriotic service for the Nation."⁴² Later in the war the Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., also acknowledged as patriotic the support of objectors in lieu of war bond purchases.⁴³

During the entirety of the war, the greatest problem facing the objector was the hostility of draft boards infused with patriotic fervor. This was especially true in the early years of World War II. "They refused to believe that 'there was such an animal' as a conscientious objector. Thus the registrant would end up before an

⁴⁰Letter, Yearly Meeting Civilian Public Service Committee to all pastors and peace and service committee chairmen, December, 1941.

⁴¹Letter, Anna Jane Michener to all peace and service chairmen, 5/24/1941.

⁴²Letter, Evan Griffith, state administrator, War Savings Staff, United States Treasury Department, to Anna Jane Michener, 10/6/1942.

⁴³What Shall the Answer Be? (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 1941), p. 4.

appeal board with his records in a terrible state."⁴⁴ That statement was voiced by Laurence Holmes, a Quaker and a Wichita lawyer. Holmes has acted as counsel for Friends youth trying to secure exemption from the draft since the beginning of World War II. From his experience with the Selective Service System, Mr. Holmes feels that Selective Service regulations are unique in two ways: (1) they are an attempt to legislate on the subjective state of an individual's mind, and (2) they are one of the few attempts by Congress to legislate on a citizen's rights and then deny to that person legal counsel.

This is a great weakness. This permits malfunction. Jimmy Hoffa goes into a hearing with his lawyer who expressly guides him in his statements. If a lawyer is not there, any sentence given is subject to revision. It may even be disallowed completely. Yet here are amateurs [the local board] trying to determine technical legal points without allowing our Anglo-Saxon heritage of the right to counsel. And this is true at all levels for the individual pacifist--whether he be facing his local board or an appeal board. The only exception is at the actual court sentencing of a conscientious objector for a violation of the law. It is a difficult task for a trained lawyer to defend himself. For a frightened, often ill-educated boy, not trained in the use of words, it is nearly impossible--especially when he thinks that his whole future is at stake.⁴⁵

During the Second World War, however, Kansas young Friends were allowed to enter CPS if they so desired, with very few exceptions. The most serious problem which these "men of conscience" had to face was the type of work which they would perform under the auspices of Civilian Public Service. This matter of "work of national importance" often

⁴⁴Personal interview of the author with Laurence Holmes, Wichita, Kansas, 8/7/1958. Shorthand notes were taken of all interviews and their transcription served as a basis for all quotations hereinafter used.

⁴⁵Ibid.

bothered the pacifists. Since they could not conscientiously serve in the armed forces, they wanted to feel that they were positively aiding in the growth of America. Yet too often the work assigned them was menial, inconsequential and irritating and the objectors were continually plagued with the question, "Am I contributing enough?"

One such Quaker pacifist was Keith Parker. Keith had been raised in Argonia, Kansas and was a member of the Christian Church in that city. After moving to Wichita to attend Friends University he began attending the University Friends Monthly Meeting. While in school he was informed of the conscientious objector position and was converted to that viewpoint. Upon being inducted, Keith was sent to San Dimas CPS Camp #76 at Glendora, California where he spent the full term of his service; three years and eight months. His work consisted of fire fighting, equipment maintenance and food preservation. On August 29, 1942, Keith Parker wrote a letter to the Christian Endeavor girls of the University Friends Meeting in Wichita describing his activities.

Well, we had our first action on fires this past wk. They fairly initiated us with 2 fires in one wk. I climbed the first Mt. in my life on Sun. afternoon to encounter the fire. What a climb. . . . We worked all night & were relieved in the morn. . . . Wed. Afternoon while we were patrolling this fire the sirene blew for us to take on another fire. On this one we really climbed some steep mts. . . . I don't think we would have climbed them if we'd seen them in the daylight.

When I'm not fighting fires, I work in the U. S. Forrestry Offices at data Analysis work. I tabulate wind velocity records & put them on report blanks so they can tell more information which the forrestry is experimenting for. This C.P.S. Camp is located in the Angeles Forrest, a reservation of about 17000 Acres set aside for experimental purposes [sic].⁴⁶

⁴⁶Letter, Keith Parker to Christian Endeavor girls, University Friends Church, Wichita, Kansas, 8/29/1942.

Like other CPS men, Parker was often concerned with the possibility that his work was not truly of "national importance." "The viewpoint of the men that I knew was that such work, although important, was not as important as could have been found. We would rather have done ambulance work in war areas or something of that sort."⁴⁷

Homer Chance was another Wichita Quaker who was bothered by the quality of the work to which he had been assigned. He wrote home that his time was divided between putting in a water line for the local community near Glendora, California and fighting fires. "[We] want more significant work and work that is more closely related to relieving the suffering caused by this terrible war."⁴⁸

A third young man, Warren Riner, felt that much of the work to which he was assigned was of "national importance." Warren became a Quaker some time after entering college at Friends University. During his schooling he developed his viewpoint regarding military service. He wanted no part of the armed forces, yet did not want to be negligent in his duty to his country and so entered Civilian Public Service feeling that in such work he had an opportunity for real service. Upon his induction he was sent to Coleville, California, CPS Camp #37. For a time he was assigned to a fire-fighting brigade. Coleville was an abandoned Civilian Conservation Corps site and surrounding it were spike camps (consisting of less than five men) and side camps (with more than five but less than ten men). During his year at this camp,

⁴⁷Personal interview of the author with Keith Parker, Wichita, Kansas, 8/6/1958.

⁴⁸Letter, Homer Chance to Christian Endeavor girls, Wichita, Kansas, 11/11/1942.

Riner worked at fire-fighting, road-building, fire trail maintenance, camp maintenance and saw-mill construction.

From Coleville, Riner was sent to the campus of Guilford College in North Carolina for training for overseas relief work. "After the group in which I was located had been there for some time the project was abandoned through the efforts of Southern elements in Congress who felt it would be detrimental to national security to have such as us representing the nation overseas."⁴⁹

After Guilford, Warren was sent to CPS Camp #46, Big Flats, New York which was used as a government nursery where seed grasses, seedlings and trees were raised. It was at this camp that Warren almost became one of the "men 'gainst the State."

We had at that camp a fellow acutely suffering from sinus infection and hay fever--yet he was continually given work which dealt with straw, severely aggravating his trouble. So, with nine other men we walked off the job till the sinus sufferer should be relieved from work of that type by the Project Superintendent.⁵⁰

Possibly because of his infraction of camp discipline, Warren Riner was sent to Elkton, Oregon when news of the Japanese incendiary bombs became known. "Although we never saw any fire bombs--we did find fires that seemingly started without warrant, perhaps as a cause of undetected incendiary bombs."⁵¹ Riner felt that work of this type was of national importance.

⁴⁹Personal interview of the author with Warren Riner, Wichita, Kansas, 8/6/1958.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid.

When the camp was eliminated in the summer of 1945, Riner was sent to Glendora, where he stayed until his discharge in March of 1946. After the war ended, morale among the objectors declined rapidly. Since there was no work of any importance "and since I wanted to do something worthwhile--I volunteered for K.P.--and found it very satisfactory. Since we had to eat, someone had to do that work and so it was, at least, not 'make-work.'"⁵²

After his discharge, Warren entered relief work for the American Friends Service Committee and was sent to Norway and Finland. He is perhaps the only conscientious objector in Kansas with a "war-bride."

One of the ironies of history is that the work of one group of men may be reversed or destroyed by the work of a later group. Such is the case with the CPS project which was performed at CPS Camp #94, Trenton, North Dakota. The objectors stationed at that camp had the task of reclaiming the barren hills of North Dakota through irrigation supplied from the Missouri River.

Richard Riner, a brother of Warren, was assigned to this camp and in 1943 wrote a letter to his home church. He described the camp life and the work projects underway in these words:

. . . the land around here is beautiful--much to the wrong impression one would get when hearing of an irrigation project. To the northwest & north there are huge hills which sweep around to the west somewhat and level off into the Missouri River south of camp. The east is quite level with a few small hills.

.
The project here is one of preparing 15,000 acres for irrigation of which 4,000 has been completed. The main canals & laterals have been dug and the pumps installed on the

⁵²Ibid.

Missouri River 6 miles west.

.
The work here is very interesting, ranging from kitchen work, garden work, care & maintenance of trucks & tractors, care for the power plant here, cleaning of the dormitories, and the general & specific project work consisting of clearing the land of brush & timber, cleaning the [irrigation] ditches & repairing them, care & supervision of the pumps which pump 4,000 gallons an hour. . . . There is also surveying, and the leveling of the land by big Diesel tractors and bulldozers & carry-alls.⁵³

Howard Loudenback, a Wichita conscientious objector also assigned to the camp summarized the entire project in this way. "River bottom land was cleared, surveyed and levelled and made into 100 acre plots with buildings, which the government then sold to farmers."⁵⁴ These CPS men labored for four to five years to complete this project and provided good farms at low cost for an area which had previously been bleak and barren thus allowing low-income persons to create a better life for themselves. This is where the irony of history manifests itself. The U. S. Army Corps of Engineers will shortly complete a large earthen fill dam, Garrison Dam, which will completely inundate this entire area wiping out the years of labor of the men in Civilian Public Service Camp #94.

One of the ever recurring problems which beset the administration of Civilian Public Service was the unrest of many objectors. Sometimes unrest was caused by the "men 'gainst the State," while at other times dissention arose over camp policies. One type of problem was caused by the government policy of diverting farm products into war matériel.

⁵³Letter, Richard Riner to Christian Endeavor girls, Wichita, Kansas, 7/6/1943.

⁵⁴Letter, Howard Loudenback to the author, 8/23/1958.

In August of 1943, Richard Riner wrote about one such difficulty. "The boys here are becoming dissatisfied. . . . They object to the fact that tame flax is being raised on the land already leveled and will be used for war purposes."⁵⁵ Throughout the war certain of the CPS men were plagued with the thought that their work was being used to further the war effort of the nation and such men did all they possibly could to avoid activities of this nature. Another, larger, group of men felt as Richard did. "The odd thing is that they can't see that we are doing our best to make the land so that it can be irrigated and that farmers can actually raise crops in the soil here. We're helping these farmers; we aren't necessarily working in a defense factory!"⁵⁶

A letter from Harold Deines, a member of Wichita Quarterly Meeting, stationed at Trenton, gives evidence that the administration of the camps was not easy at any time. He wrote that sixteen fellows had been transferred to a new government camp in Colorado. They had been moved because they "were the trouble breeders. . . . Most of these were either socialists, men without religious convictions or of the Catholic faith."⁵⁷

All conscientious objectors who were put on detached service from the camps were used by civil employers who had to send a certain percentage of their wages to the government to be held in escrow until

⁵⁵Letter, Richard Riner to Christian Endeavor girls, Wichita, Kansas, 8/5/1943.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Letter, Harold Deines to Christian Endeavor girls, Wichita, Kansas, 7/12/1943.

the end of the war at which time the monies would be used in relief work. One youth on this type of assignment was Norman Cardin from University Monthly Meeting, Wichita, Kansas. Norman was inducted into CPS and assigned to Camp #97. From this camp he was released to H. H. Ladson, a Montgomery County Maryland farmer. On July 28, 1943, Cardin wrote:

In case you didn't know it I am working on a dairy farm and help milk 20 cows twice per day and also help do some of the farming. I have a good sun tan. . . . The financial set up is like this: The farmer sends \$40.00 per mo. to the Nat. Ser. Board for religious objectors and I get \$0.50 pr day allowance and the balance goes into a frozen fund which we hope will be used for reconstruction after the war.⁵⁸

This "frozen fund" amounted to some one and one-half million dollars by the end of the war. When the pacifist agency, the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, petitioned for its release so that the money could be used for its original purpose of relief work, the government did not see fit to honor its wartime agreement. The American Friends Service Committee, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the National Service Board for Religious Objectors have repeatedly worked for the release of this "frozen fund." The last attempt to secure the money was tried in the second session of the 87th Congress but was defeated by a small majority. The money remains inactive in the coffers of the United States Treasury.⁵⁹

⁵⁸Letter, Norman Cardin to Christian Endeavor girls, Wichita, Kansas, 7/28/1943.

⁵⁹For a complete report on the difficulties of the NSERO with the government over the "frozen fund," contact Alfred Hassler, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Nyack, New York.

By 1943 members of Kansas Yearly Meeting were donating monies at the rate of seven hundred dollars per month in order to support their charges in Civilian Public Service. Since the beginning of the program the Kansas Friends had contributed a total of \$8,500.00 to CPS.⁶⁰

University Meeting, Wichita, was the only local church to lose a young Friend in alternate service through death. John V. Mills, son of Professor John Mills of Friends University, was fatally burned on duty, April 6, 1943. Before his entrance into alternate service he had remarked that "I am willing to die for others, but I will not take life." Significantly, he illustrated this point of view by his death. While stationed at Camp #76, Glendora, California, John Mills died in an attempt to save the life of a friend during a camp accident in which a building had been ignited.⁶¹

Six months after the death of John V. Mills, the Peace and Service Committee of the Yearly Meeting prepared a message to be sent to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the senators from Kansas. This message expressed the feeling that the continuance of the war would only serve to generate hatreds which would be a barrier to peace. The Friends asked that steps be taken through the newly formed United Nations to give up the concept of unconditional surrender

⁶⁰Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Medford, Oklahoma: The Medford Printing Co., 1943), p. 18.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 19.

and work toward an immediate negotiated peace under the guidance and blessing of God. Surely this would have been a difficult position to take during a period typified by patriotic fervor when other peoples wished to see the Axis powers completely crushed.⁶²

The Civilian Public Service Committee of Kansas Yearly Meeting was confronted by a new problem during 1944. It was imperative that steps be taken to provide for the dependent wives and children of men in CPS. It was agreed that upon acceptance by the committee of applications from such dependents, payments of twenty-five dollars monthly would be made to each wife with an additional ten dollars for each dependent child. These allowances were subject to increase if the need was urgent. The cost for the coming year of 1945 was estimated at approximately twenty-four hundred dollars. The committee made no apologies concerning this added burden which the members of Kansas Yearly Meeting would have to accept.

Conscientious Objectors to war are the result of the teaching of the church and these men are following the procedures outlined by the government for those with scruples against participation in war. The church can do no less than share the burdens of these men and their families.⁶³

In 1945 the Yearly Meeting Civilian Public Service Committee sent a letter to the men in CPS. The men were told that the war showed signs of a quick ending and asked that they remain patient for a little longer. "Each one of you . . . is a living witness to . . . the way of Christ." The letter went on to console the men for the tasks they

⁶²Ibid., p. 58.

⁶³Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Wichita: Day's Print Shop, 1944), p. 27.

performed which were often inconsequential:

. . . many of you are disillusioned and discouraged. You may be shut away from the world at meaningless tasks while civilization goes up in smoke . . . you may be bitter over the misuse of your talents and abilities. . . . But [we can] fall back on one fact--the fact of [our] personal faith in a living Christ whose fellowship [has led us] to make such a testimony . . .⁶⁴

And then the war ended. First Germany capitulated on May 8th. After Hiroshima and Nagasaki were bombed, Japan surrendered in August. The fighting had ended and returning soldiers began to flood the country for reunion with their loved ones. The objectors in alternate service, according to one Kansas pacifist, were "discharged on a rate basis--first entered, first out--and did so on an equal percentage with the Army which I thought was fair."⁶⁵

And so the men in the CPS camps returned home. During the war at least fifty-nine men had served their country in this capacity in work that was sometimes important and often menial. Whatever the value of their work, a certain group of Kansas Friends had maintained the "historic peace testimony" of Quakerism.⁶⁶ Yet what about that group of Kansas Quakers who had decided against entering Civilian Public Service when the war broke out in 1941? One authority has said that "more

⁶⁴Letter, Kansas Yearly Meeting Civilian Public Service Committee to the men in alternate service, 3/7/1945.

⁶⁵Personal interview of the author with Warren Riner, Wichita, Kansas, 8/6/1958.

⁶⁶Appendix B of this thesis consists of a table showing the names of members of the Society of Friends in Kansas who served in Civilian Public Service, the home meeting of each man when ascertainable, and at least one camp in which they served.

Quakers went to World War II than didn't."⁶⁷ Mrs. Benjamin O. Weaver, president of the Kiowa County Historical Society of Kansas recently wrote that "there was not much stress on Pacifism . . . almost none in World War II. I believe their attitude has changed somewhat on that in the past few years."⁶⁸ It must be remembered, however, that the total figure for Friends youth in the armed forces would include the men who took the I-AO, or noncombatant position, and those who entered in a I-A, or combatant, capacity. Notwithstanding, those who chose to enter the armed forces comprised by far the largest group of men within the Society of Friends. Statistically speaking, for each one thousand members, 19.2 men served in the military forces of the United States while 9.6 men per thousand entered Civilian Public Service.⁶⁹

Now let us look at the governmental regulations which covered all noncombatants in the armed forces. These men were opposed to military or naval weapons training but were quite willing to serve their government in ways which would not violate their consciences. The local draft boards were usually able to give a desirous registrant the I-AO classification, for the general feeling was that other things being equal, it was better to give a man the classification he desired. This would tend to make him a better soldier. Since the need for soldiers in a noncombatant capacity was great throughout the war, this

⁶⁷Frank S. Mead, Handbook of Denominations in the United States (New York: The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1951), p. 93.

⁶⁸Letter, Mrs. Benjamin O. Weaver, president, Kiowa County Historical Society, to the author, 11/18/1958.

⁶⁹Wherry, Conscientious Objection, pp. 320-321.

approach seemed advisable.⁷⁰ Oftentimes it so happened that even when a man had been refused a I-AO classification by his local board, the Army saw fit to assign him to the Medical Corps rather than to subject him to a series of courts-martial in an attempt to "make a soldier out of him."⁷¹

Noncombatant service was defined by the President of the United States as: (1) service in any unit unarmed at all times, (2) service in the Medical Corps in any area, and (3) service in any branch or unit whose primary purpose was not such as to require an individual to be armed or trained in the use of arms.⁷² However, after the United States entered the war it was deemed advisable to restrict the assignment of conscientious objectors entirely to the Medical Corps. Such men, although rejecting actual participation in fighting, were quite willing to devote themselves to the saving of life. As the motto of the Medical Corps was "Conserve the Fighting Strength," this settlement seemed satisfactory to all parties concerned.⁷³

The service performed by I-AO's during World War II was highly regarded by the Army and Navy. At least one conscientious objector received the Congressional Medal of Honor and many received other high awards.⁷⁴

⁷⁰Wherry, Conscientious Objection, p. 109.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 110.

⁷²Ibid., p. 111.

⁷³Ibid., p. 112.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 114.

As stated earlier, more Kansas Quakers entered the armed forces than Civilian Public Service. The Peace and Service Committee of the Yearly Meeting was troubled by this fact. The report for 1943 decries the evidence received from quarterly meetings which gave ample attestation to this fact.⁷⁵ The next year, Mrs. Anna Jane Michener stated in her report that of thirty-two selected meetings, a majority did not present the peace testimony to prospective members until after they had joined the Society. A smaller proportion refused to teach it at all.⁷⁶ "When members have joined without knowledge of our peace testimony, it is not surprising that many do not accept it, and some do not respect it, or are merely tolerant of it."⁷⁷ Mrs. Michener noted further that out of a total of 311 young men in these thirty-two meetings, 243 were in the armed forces and twenty-nine were in Civilian Public Service. Of the number in military service, twenty-seven were I-AO's. "It is a question as to how much weight peace [sic] pronouncements from Kansas Yearly Meeting will have in view of the acceptance of military service by those entitled to an alternative service . . ."⁷⁸ The report of the Peace and Service Committee for 1944 concluded with the plea that the historic peace testimony be made clear to all who joined the Society of Friends and it should be stressed to the present membership and even

⁷⁵Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Medford, Oklahoma: The Medford Printing Co., 1943), p. 18.

⁷⁶Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Wichita, Kansas: Day's Print Shop, 1944), p. 22.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 23.

to the ministers.⁷⁹

Only a handful have chosen to separate themselves from the way of the sword and to give their own lives as a testimony to the power of Love and the Cross, as the way of Christ.⁸⁰

Society records for 1945 indicate that at that time no monthly meeting asked commitment to the peace testimony as a basis for membership. Fifteen such meetings did, however, present it to prospective members for their consideration.⁸¹ The local congregations, members or otherwise, seem to have often rejected the peace testimony. In University Monthly Meeting which had been one of the most avid supporters of the doctrine, sixty-two youth entered the armed forces while but twenty-one entered Civilian Public Service.⁸² It was earlier noted that statistics for the Society of Friends throughout the United States would indicate that twice as many Quaker youth served in the armed forces as in CPS. Kansas figures would, however, indicate that from three to four times more youth served in a combatant capacity as against the number who registered a protest in one form or another.⁸³

Yet a number of Friends youth from Kansas did feel morally obligated to register a protest against war. Some did so by entering alternate service. A larger percentage allowed themselves to be drafted as noncombatants. One such youth was "Aaron B."

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Minutes. Kansas Yearly Meeting (Wichita, Kansas: Day's Print Shop, 1945), p. 22.

⁸²This figure was derived by counting the names on the memorial plaque in the University Friends Church, Wichita, Kansas, of the men who had served in World War II.

⁸³Minutes. Loc. cit., 1944, p. 22.

During the first semester of Aaron's junior year in college he was drafted. He was not yet twenty years old. Aaron was assigned to Fort F. E. Warren, Wyoming, where Quartermaster reserve training was conducted. A letter written on January 18, 1943, indicates that the Kansas youth felt he was progressing nicely. Aaron wrote:

I believe I am to be transferred to the Medical Corp [sic] after this 4 week course is finished.

.....
As yet I haven't found the Army so terrible except for this "Wonderful Wyoming" or "this God-forsaken country" as it is called. . . . Its cold, dusty, windy--even worse than Kansas.⁸⁴

Yet Aaron was to face problems that only those who have undergone Army basic training can fully understand. Occasionally incidents occur in the Army which do not have official backing by the higher echelons. The treatment of Aaron was one such episode. As he was about to complete his training, Aaron was reassigned back into an earlier phase of basic military schooling. Thus was continued for another few weeks the endless round of orders, insults and menial tasks which are the lot of all basic trainees. This happened not once, but three times. Finally after almost a year of basic training, Aaron was allowed to graduate. After the usual furlough at home, the Kansas Quaker was put on overseas orders and shipped to England during 1944. Aaron was assigned to a receiving hospital which cared for many of the worst cases of war-wounded from the battlefields in France.

Aaron had not been a strong-willed youth in civilian life and

⁸⁴Letter, "Aaron B." to University Monthly Meeting, Wichita, Kansas, 1/18/1943.

the year of basic training had destroyed what mental balance remained to him. He was completely unable to adjust to the sight of the broken, shattered remnants of men with which he worked and after a few months of this duty, Aaron suffered a mental collapse from which he has never recovered. A psychiatrist said of the boy: "Psychologically, he had no more business in the Medical Corps than I would have as a butcher."⁸⁵ Since the end of World War II, Aaron has been at Winter General Hospital in Topeka, Kansas. Although Aaron will never again become normal, he is allowed an occasional visit to his home. Only once has he ever spoken of his experiences. As a little girl was complaining of a splinter in her finger, Aaron blurted out: "Well, you ought to stand by and watch a doctor try to stuff a guy's brains back in his head!"⁸⁶

In addition to the misfortune of Aaron B., Kansas Yearly Meeting lost at least three of their youth in the armed forces during the war; all combatant soldiers: Ralph Schooley, Jr., Alvan E. Stubbs and Wilson A. Young.⁸⁷

The Second World War had finally ended as a result of two mushroom clouds over Japan. The Quakers who had been dislocated by the war began to return to their families and home meetings. A certain number of the youth had adhered strictly to the Friends peace testimony, while a larger group had made varying compromises with it to fit their

⁸⁵Personal interview of the author with the mother of "Aaron B." August 5, 1958. Permission to use this information was secured only after agreement was made to withhold the names of those concerned.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷See footnote eighty-two.

individual consciences. The survey of this thesis is thus complete. The vitality of the Quaker peace testimony has been traced through one hundred and twelve years. There is but one final task; to discuss the over-all trends which appeared in these years and to determine the role which the peace testimony plays in present-day Quakerism.

CHAPTER VII

THE ROLE OF THE PEACE TESTIMONY

When the Quakers first began migrating into Kansas Territory in the first half of the nineteenth century, they brought with them a religious society that was noted for its strict discipline. Before 1870, the members of the Society of Friends usually felt that their most important religious duty was to remain withdrawn from the world and work steadfastly to maintain complete orthodoxy of faith according to the historic practices of the group. As a result, adherence to the peace testimony was a common and expected duty of every member.

However, when the Society became influenced by the theological mood of revivalistic-evangelism, the Kansas Friends reacted against their former practices and began to advocate adherence to the religious position of fundamentalism. In 1872 they were set off as an independent yearly meeting. After this time the historic practices of Quakerism began to be dropped in favor of a pattern for worship services based closely upon frontier Methodism. From 1872 until 1914 little stress was laid upon the teaching of the doctrines which had made the Society of Friends a distinctive religious denomination. Indeed from 1900, there was very little difference between the Kansas Quakers and other revivalistic sects within the state.

With the approach of the First World War, however, the prospect of a possible draft caused Kansas Friends to rethink their position. It would hardly have been possible to demand nonresistance from the young men after the dearth of pacifistic teaching during the preceding

four decades. With this in mind, an objective examination of the doctrine of pacifism was urged upon each individual in the Society. Each youth was asked to reason out his own position on the basis of Scriptural teaching and the guidance of the Inner Light. The majority of draft-age Quakers in Kansas took the position of nonresistance. The number who adhered to some pacifist position was twice as large as the number of men who did not follow the historic viewpoint of the Society on war.

Another important step taken by the Society of Friends during the First World War was the establishment of the American Friends Service Committee. For the first time, Kansas Quakers saw the necessity of providing a positive program of serving the needs of a suffering, war-torn humanity during periods of stress rather than merely withdrawing from participation in fighting. This service committee later became world famous for its unselfish work for peace in the troubled areas of the world.

In the period following World War I, the Quakers of Kansas came to view eastern Friends with great suspicion. A movement toward isolation from the older yearly meetings, which had been in existence since 1872, gained strength. Since much of the relief work during the war had been conducted under the auspices of eastern Quakers and because pacifists had contributed their labor in this cause, some Kansas Friends became convinced that since pacifism and relief work were connected, there might also be a connection between the doctrines of eastern Quakers, which they shunned, and nonresistance. Admittedly, the group that

held this viewpoint was small in the immediate post-war period but as the years progressed it gained more and more support.

Increasing stress was laid upon immediate salvation gained at the "mourner's bench" although many Friends felt that the implications which Christianity held for the improvement of society were neglected by such a practice. As the isolationists gained greater support, however, they proclaimed that pacifism was but a fruitage of the Christian life and did not occupy an integral position; hence the doctrine of nonresistance seemed of little importance to them. Such persons felt that the teaching of the peace testimony was fine for those who held this viewpoint but was irrelevant for those whose consciences dictated otherwise.

Such a position seemingly was a discernible factor in the removal from the yearly meeting of many young people who felt that nonresistance was a necessary condition of salvation. Others however, notably Mrs. Anna Jane Michener, decided to remain within the fellowship of Kansas Yearly Meeting and work to spread the pacifistic viewpoint.

Adherents of nonresistance were in a noticeable minority within the Yearly Meeting. Of thirteen quarterly meetings and fifty-four monthly meetings, only four quarterly meetings and nine or ten monthly meetings had active peace committees during the nineteen thirties. In the records of the other meetings little or no mention is made of the peace testimony.

These varying and conflicting viewpoints had their effect during the Second World War. The names of fifty-one Quaker youth were

definitely recorded as having taken the position of conscientious objector in the war. By interpolation it may be conjectured that approximately three to four times more youth served in the armed forces than in Civilian Public Service. Thus the figures for World War I were more than reversed. In that war, twice as many youth served in reconstruction work as in the military. In World War II, three to four times more youth served in the army as in CPS. The most probable explanation which has been given for this phenomenon is that little instruction was given on this dormant Society viewpoint to the Quaker youth of Kansas.

By the end of the one hundred and twelve year period covered by this thesis (1945), it would thus seem that the doctrine of pacifism for members of the Society of Friends had assumed a relatively unimportant role. Four varying concepts would seem to have been held at the close of World War II. The largest group of members simply paid no heed to the tenet, regarding it as a fossil remnant from earlier days of Quaker history. This group would seem to consist mainly of Quaker converts who had been given little or no instruction in the viewpoints of the Society. A second group, somewhat smaller, seemed to feel that pacifism was truly the ideal Christian way of life and that if everyone else practiced it they could endorse it also. Yet because of the realistic world in which we must live, it would be national suicide to espouse such a course of action. A much smaller segment of the Kansas Yearly Meeting could be described as believing that it was the duty of each individual member to approach the problem of pacifism with no preconceived notions, and prayerfully seek a Biblical solution. Expert

advice should be available and periodic presentation of the matter should be made to the church members, but no one should be coerced into taking a pacifist position. Rather it should be a private matter between the individual and his Savior and the answer should be reached only after public and private study had been made; the Scriptures consulted in an attempt to ascertain what relevance the teachings of Jesus had on his responsibility to himself, his family, his nation and his God. This group would represent the majority of Kansas Quakers who still espoused nonresistance in the post-war period. Finally, in 1945 there remained a few Friends who felt that the Society should reinstitute iron clad disciplinary measures for its members and require that they maintain a pacifistic approach to life and the demands of the government or be disowned from fellowship.

The two largest opposing groups in 1945 were those who maintained the non-relevance of pacifism to this world and those who maintained that it was the duty of each individual to find his own solution through prayer and study.

The years that have passed since 1945 and the years yet to come will reveal which of the two groups will have the most pertinent message for Quakerism in Kansas.

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APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY OF SPECIAL TERMS

American Friends Service Committee: Organized during the First World War, this committee organizes, supervises and administers relief and reconstruction work for needy peoples throughout the world. During the past few years it has also functioned as a policy forming agency for certain groups of Quakerism and as an advisory group for them.

Civilian Public Service: The agency which supervised the work of the religious conscientious objectors during the Second World War.

Conscientious Objector: One who is opposed to participation in combatant military service on the grounds of conscience. Certain other objectors also refuse noncombatant military service and perform alternate service under civilian auspices. A rather small, extreme group refuses participation in any type of conscription and usually must face prison terms for their position. Such views as these persons hold are usually the result of religious, philosophical, humanitarian, social or economic belief and/or training.

Friends: The religious sect which takes its name from the Scriptural injunction that "Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you."—John 15: 14.

Inner Light: This is the term assigned to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit within the hearts of men. This viewpoint is based on the words of the Scripture, that "that was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."—John 1: 9. The Friends believe that the work of this Inner Light should have great stress laid upon it. They feel that this Light can grow from a small spark to a flame of holiness through cultivation of the religious life. Historically, this was one of the reasons for worship through solemn meditation. Quakers felt that only in silence could the Light within speak, admonish and guide the worshipper.

Meeting for Discipline: Also called simply the "monthly meeting," this was the Quaker meeting for business which occurred once a month.

Meeting for Sufferings: This group was organized in England by the Quakers to act as an agency which would seek relief from the persecutions which they were suffering. Another function was to care for those Friends who had been harmed by the government and/or the Anglican persecution.

Meeting for Worship: This is the regular service for worship held on Sunday, or "First Day" as Quakers used to term it.

Meeting House: Historically, Quakers did not approve of the use of the term "church" to designate the House of God. They felt that the church consisted of all believers in Christ. Hence the term "meeting house" was more appropriate and was another way to protest against the practices of the established Church of England. Most evangelical Quakers have, however, given up the use of the term and have reinstated the name "church" for their place of worship.

Monthly Meeting: This is the basic unit of government in the Society of Friends and designates the local congregation. All other governmental units derive their existence from the suffrance of the local meeting.

Noncombatant: This term designates an individual in the armed forces who is not required to be trained in the use of, or to bear arms in the service of his country. Although not required to carry a weapon, any other duty may be required of such a man including assignment to a combat area. The official Selective Service classification for such a person is I-AO.

Pacifist: One who on principle opposes war as a wrong and refuses to cooperate in the promulgation of it as an instrument of national policy.

Preparative Meeting: Although this term is now seldom used by the Society, it earlier was used to designate the first step in church organization. A group of Friends would ask permission to establish worship services and to have care of local business matters under the supervision of a parent body. Such a meeting was "preparative" to complete autonomy at a later date. The term has also been used to describe the local congregation's worship services which were "preparative" to the monthly business session.

Priest: The early Friends called any minister, Catholic or Protestant, who worked for wages, a "priest." These people believed that each man was an exponent of the Gospel to the best of his individual ability. For many years a query in the Discipline of the Quakers asked, "Do you maintain a testimony against a hireling ministry?" They feared that if a wage was paid, persons would be influenced to accept such employment for the monetary return rather than because the Will of God desired it. Even after clergymen began to appear in the sect, a testimony was still continued against such titles as Reverend as holdovers from "Catholic idolatry." In recent years the revivalistic segment of Quakerism has begun to call its ministers "Reverend."

Quaker: This term is not, in any way, an official name for the Society of Friends, but is simply a nickname which early became fixed upon the group. Its use is, however, generally accepted by Friends. The origin of the name has been ascribed to various sources, none of which can be completely verified.

Quarterly Meeting: Such a meeting is composed of several monthly meetings and receives its power from their consent. Yet once established, it has the authority to correlate the activities of the member meetings and to "lovingly coerce" them into action. It functions as a correlative and supervisory organization.

Smoke-jumping: A method of fighting forest fires which was developed by conscientious objectors during World War II. A plane is flown over the burning area and parachutists jump into positions which will be most advantageous in fighting the flames. This has proved to be one of the most excellent ways of fire-fighting yet developed.

Society: For the same reason that they refused to call their places of worship "churches" the Friends refused to call their denomination a church, for they believed that the church consisted of all true Christians and no one group had the right to use the name.

Yearly Meeting: A yearly meeting is formed from several quarterly meetings and usually covers a state or multi-state area. It receives its power from them and attempts to coordinate the work of the member meetings into a unified whole.

APPENDIX B

TABLE SHOWING NAMES OF THE KANSAS QUAKERS WHO SERVED IN CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE; THEIR HOME MEETINGS AND ONE CAMP AT WHICH THEY SERVED.

NAME	HOME MEETING	CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE CAMP
Andrew, Kenneth L.	University	--
Ballard, John C.	West Glendale	--
Barber, Alva J.	University	--
Beloof, Byron	University	--
Beloof, Robert L.	University	CPS #94 Trenton, North Dakota
Bridenstine, Hiram	Haviland	--
Cardin, Norman V.	University	CPS #97 Montgomery Co., Md.
Casey, Keith H.	North Branch	CPS #94 Trenton, North Dakota
Chance, Arthur J.*	University	CPS #84 Concord, N. H.
Chance, Homer R.	University	CPS #76 Glendora, California
Chance, Ralph S.	University	CPS #76 Glendora, California
Coney, James	University	--
Cook, Edwin C.	--	--
Cook, Edwin I.	University	CPS #37 Coleville, California
Deines, Harold	University	CPS #94 Trenton, North Dakota
Hadley, Herbert M.	North Branch	CPS #22 Chungking, China
Harris, William F.	--	CPS #21 Cascade Locks, Oregon
Harvey, Philip C.	--	CPS #76 Glendora, California
Hinshaw, Harold	University	--
Hoyle, John C.	--	CPS #37 Coleville, California
Hunt, Emery W.	Columbia	CPS #2 Glendora, California
Jackson, Chesur	Haviland	--
Kinser, William F.	Lone Star	CPS #76 Glendora, California
Lewis, Elmer C.	--	CPS #37 Coleville, California
Lewis, Gordon	Fairview	CPS #104 Ames, Iowa
Lewis, Wayne	Fairview	--
Loudenback, Howard	University	CPS #94 Trenton, North Dakota
McCracken, Emmett F.	Rose Hill	CPS #94 Trenton, North Dakota
McCracken, Preston G.	Rose Hill	--
McNichols, Neil	North Branch	--
Michener, John	University	--
Michener, Ralph	University	CPS #94 Trenton, North Dakota
Milligan, Glenn**	Emporia	--
Mills, John V.***	University	CPS #76 Glendora, California
Moore, Lawrence*	University	CPS #43 Puerto Rico
Parker, Keith W.	Argonia	CPS #76 Glendora, California
Powell, Donald G.	West Glendale	CPS #95 Buckley, Washington
Ratcliff, John B.	Fowler	--
Repp, Willis E.	--	--
Riner, Richard	University	CPS #94 Trenton, North Dakota
Riner, Warren F.	University	CPS #101 Guilford, N. C.
Spencer, Eugene C.	--	CPS #76 Glendora, California
Stanley, Charles M.**	Bethel	--
Thompson, Ernest D.	Fairview	CPS #37 Coleville, California

NAME	HOME MEETING	CIVILIAN PUBLIC SERVICE CAMP
Thompson, Everett D.	Fairview	CPS #37 Coleville, California
Thorne, Marvin E.	Beaver	CPS #59 Elkton, Oregon
Tompkins, Carl	University	--
Wheeler, Floyd E.	--	CPS #78 Medical Lake, Wash.
Wheeler, Wilfred E.	University	CPS #94 Trenton, North Dakota
Williams, Forest W.	Haviland	--
Whiteman, William	--	--

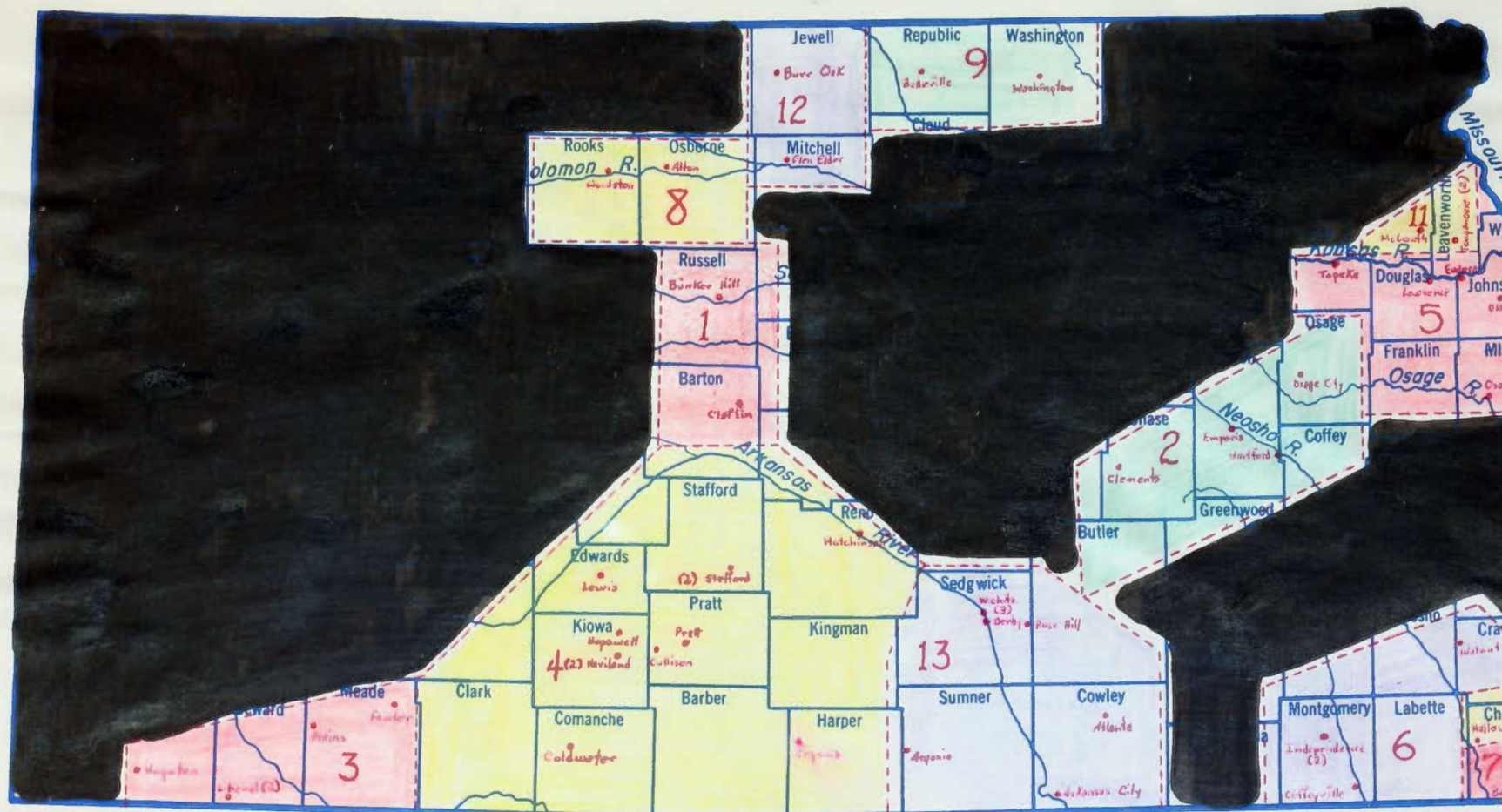
* signifies that the man transferred to the armed forces before the end of the war.

** signifies that the man was discharged from alternate service for physical reasons prior to the end of 1943.

*** signifies that the man died in alternate service.

The information for this table was garnered from several sources. When possible, the names of the objectors and the camp in which they served were taken from the records of their home meetings. Other places in which the names of Kansas nonresistors were found was in the financial records of the Kansas Yearly Meeting Civilian Public Service Committee and in the Minutes of the Yearly Meeting from 1941 to 1945. One final source was the file of letters written to the Christian Endeavor girls of University Friends Church by the men in alternate service. By checking references to names of friends found in these letters and by comparison with all other sources, this table was constructed. It must be remembered, however, that this table is not a comprehensive one as there may have been other men in alternate service not mentioned in the records to which the author had access.

QUAKER MEETINGS IN 1945



This map shows the location of the monthly meetings within Kansas and the approximate area comprising each quarterly meeting. The legend for this map is on the following two pages.

LEGEND FOR APPENDIX C

Each numbered paragraph below corresponds to a number on the previous map-page; then follows the name of the quarterly meeting, the name of the monthly meeting and the town in which or near which it is located.

1. BEAVER QUARTERLY MEETING--Beaver Monthly Meeting (Claflin, Kansas), Shannon Monthly Meeting (Bunker Hill, Kansas).
2. COTTONWOOD QUARTERLY MEETING--Barclay Monthly Meeting (Osage City, Kansas), Cottonwood Monthly Meeting (Saffordville, Kansas), Emporia Monthly Meeting (Emporia, Kansas), Homestead Monthly Meeting (Clements, Kansas), Twin Mound Monthly Meeting (Hartford, Kansas).
3. FOWLER QUARTERLY MEETING--Bethel Monthly Meeting (Hugoton, Kansas), Fowler Monthly Meeting (Fowler, Kansas), Liberal Monthly Meeting (Liberal, Kansas), Lone Star Monthly Meeting (Liberal, Kansas), West Glendale Monthly Meeting (Plains, Kansas).
4. HAVILAND QUARTERLY MEETING--Antioch Monthly Meeting (Stafford, Kansas), Haviland Monthly Meeting (Haviland, Kansas), Hopewell Monthly Meeting (Hopewell, Kansas), Maple Monthly Meeting (Haviland, Kansas), Pleasant Plain Monthly Meeting (Cullison, Kansas), Hutchinson Congregation (Hutchinson, Kansas), Prairie Vale Monthly Meeting (Coldwater, Kansas), Pratt Monthly Meeting (Pratt, Kansas), Red Mound - Center Monthly Meeting (Lewis, Kansas), Stafford Monthly Meeting (Stafford, Kansas).
5. HESPER QUARTERLY MEETING--Hesper Monthly Meeting (Eudora, Kansas), Kansas City Monthly Meeting (Kansas City, Mo.), Lawrence Monthly Meeting (Lawrence, Kansas), Prairie Center Monthly Meeting (Olathe, Kansas), Spring Grove Monthly Meeting (Osawatomie, Kansas), Topeka Congregation (Topeka, Kansas).
6. INDEPENDENCE QUARTERLY MEETING--Bolton Monthly Meeting (Independence, Kansas), Riverton Monthly Meeting (Walnut, Kansas), Independence Monthly Meeting (Independence, Kansas), Coffeyville Congregation (Coffeyville, Kansas).
7. MIAMI QUARTERLY MEETING--Lowell Monthly Meeting (Baxter Springs, Kansas), Stark Monthly Meeting (Galena, Kansas), Tennessee Prairie Monthly Meeting (Baxter Springs, Kansas).
8. MOUNT AYRE QUARTERLY MEETING--Chalk Mound Monthly Meeting (Woodston, Kansas), Mount Ayre Monthly Meeting (Alton, Kansas).
9. PLEASANT VIEW QUARTERLY MEETING--Belleville Monthly Meeting (Belleville, Kansas), Dale Monthly Meeting (Washington, Kansas).

10. SPRING RIVER QUARTERLY MEETING--Friendship Monthly Meeting (Hallowell, Kansas).
11. TONGANOXIE QUARTERLY MEETING--Springdale Monthly Meeting (McLouth, Kansas), Stanwood Monthly Meeting (Tonganoxie, Kansas), Tonganoxie Monthly Meeting (Tonganoxie, Kansas).
12. WALNUT CREEK QUARTERLY MEETING--Glen View Monthly Meeting (Glen Elder, Kansas), Oak Creek Monthly Meeting (Burr Oak, Kansas).
13. WICHITA QUARTERLY MEETING--Argonia Monthly Meeting (Argonia, Kansas), Arkansas City Congregation (Arkansas City, Kansas), North Wichita Monthly Meeting (Wichita, Kansas), University Monthly Meeting (Wichita, Kansas), Wichita Chapel Monthly Meeting (Wichita, Kansas), Bridgeport Monthly Meeting (Wichita, Kansas), Rose Hill Monthly Meeting (Rose Hill, Kansas), Timber Creek Monthly Meeting (Atlanta, Kansas), Derby Congregation (Derby, Kansas).

APPENDIX D

The following statement on Peace is taken from the 1940 edition of the the Discipline (a book of rules of order, faith and practice) of the Kansas Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends. This statement has changed very little since the 1896 edition of the Discipline and is also quite similar to the "Authorized Declaration of Faith" of the Five Years Meeting of Friends which was adopted on September 7, 1922.

PEACE

We feel bound to explicitly avow our unshaken persuasion that all war is utterly incompatible with the plain precepts of our Divine Lord and Lawgiver, and the whole spirit of His Gospel, and that no plea of necessity or policy, however urgent or peculiar, can avail to release either individuals or nations from the paramount allegiance which they owe to Him who hath said, "Love your enemies." (Matt. v. 44, Luke vi. 27.) In enjoining this love, and the forgiveness of injuries, He who has brought us to Himself has not prescribed for man precepts which are incapable of being carried into practice, or of which the practice is to be postponed until all shall be persuaded to act upon them. We cannot doubt that they are incumbent now, and that we have in the prophetic Scriptures the distinct intimation of their direct application not only to individuals, but to nations also. (Isaiah ii, 4, Micah iv. 1.) When nations conform their laws to this divine teaching, wars must necessarily cease.

We would, in humility, but in faithfulness to our Lord, express our firm persuasion that all the exigencies of civil government and social order may be met under the banner of the Prince of Peace, in strict conformity with His command.